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IN URGING CONGRESS to pass the Guffey coal bill so that the Supreme Court can rule on it, the President keeps open the door for the constitutional issue in the next campaign. "A decision of the Supreme Court," he writes, "would be helpful as indicating, with increasing clarity, the constitutional limits within which this government must operate." This suggests that the President expects an adverse decision, and would welcome it. The parade of New Deal legislation before the court will be headed by the processing-tax provisions of the AAA, and an adverse decision will make a constitutional issue unescapable. For the farmers, whatever else they may think of the New Deal, like the tax which raises the level of their incomes. If the court throws out only the Guffey bill and the Wagner labor law, the President may not feel that he has enough public support for a constitutional campaign. If the securities act should be added, the cause would be measurably strengthened. It would be still stronger if old-age pensions were struck down. But if the AAA too is destroyed, the President can count on support from everyone not fanatically committed to an unchanged Constitution and the status quo. Certainly the Republicans, if they intend to campaign as defenders of the Constitution, would find themselves in an awkward position, since they cannot hope for success next year without substantial support from the farmers. It is doubtful, however, that the Supreme Court will make matters so easy for the President and so fatal for itself.

SHORTLY BEFORE INDEPENDENCE DAY the Senate, evidently inspired by the British sedition act, unobtrusively passed a bill which so clearly violates the constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech and press that it ought to make the hair of all nine Supreme Court judges stand on end. The purpose of the bill, which was introduced by Senator Tydings at the instance of the War and Navy departments, is "to make better provision for the government of the military and naval forces of the United States by the suppression of attempts to incite the members thereof to disobedience"; to that end it prescribes a fine of $1,000 or two years' imprisonment for whoever advises or whoever publishes or distributes any publication which advises, counsels, urges, or solicits any member of the military or naval forces of the United States to disobey the laws or regulations governing such military or naval forces. It also provides that raids for the material described may be conducted under search warrants authorized by the war espionage act. The Senator from Maryland said that the bill was directed against pamphlets circulated among soldiers and sailors encouraging disobedience to officers and saying that "they are all brothers"; Senator Bennett Clark, in one of the few comments which accompanied its unanimous passage, said he thought it should be applied to CCC camps, and complained that he had actually seen a CCC camp paper in which Soviet institutions were praised; at which Senator King avowed that the officer responsible "ought to be court-martialed." Soldiers and sailors are sworn to uphold the laws and Constitution, but we do not recall any phrase in any oath proclaiming the infallibility of second lieutenants; and since joining the army does not carry with it loss of citizenship, it would seem that the armed forces have a right to read anything they please, even to such inflammatory remarks as that Soviet institutions are praiseworthy and that privates and officers are all brothers. After all, we are not engaged in a war. Or are we? Opponents of the bill point out that strikers and their sympathizers could be punished for protesting against the use of the National Guard in a strike area; and the section allowing raids on search warrants authorized by the war espionage act opens the way to a rousing red-baiting campaign. If the newspapers of the country were not so busy defending themselves from the American Newspaper Guild, we might expect them to put on a stirring battle for the freedom of the press, which is here clearly at issue.

WHETHER OR NOT the hour will strike for forming a third party in the fall, it has come for the beginning of a national campaign to educate the public to the idea of production for use rather than for profit. But many questions leap to the mind in studying the third-party conference in Chicago which enunciated the principle. The platform of fourteen planks commends itself as broad enough to bring together many leftist groups, though we doubt if it needed to include the soldiers' bonus. The question arises

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whether a third party can be launched nationally before it has begun local work and achieved a good deal of local success. Obviously it is simpler to make the beginning in a Presidential year and to focus attention on an appealing Presidential candidate. The best showing yet made for a left-wing third party was La Follette's campaign in 1924. It left behind few local organizations and proved to be a single effort of no permanent benefit. If a third party is formed in the fall, it would be well advised to concentrate on building the foundations first, and to plan no national campaign before 1940. This is an invitation for hard and probably thankless work. Yet without such an investment there can be no third party. Some time must elapse before organized labor can have demonstrated its ability to unionize on industrial lines, and until it does and is able to collaborate effectively, no third party will have the character or numbers to count in a national election. Ultimately, we believe, there will come a new division in American politics between those who favor production for use and those who seek to retain finance capitalism. We see the Chicago conference as an early milestone in this long development.

THE STRANGE CASE of Congressman Brewster is the talk of liberals in Washington. We discuss in our leading editorial his part in the holding-company crisis. But this was not his only inexplicable defection. As Republican on the committee considering the ship-subsidy bill he had taken a leading part in exposing the shipping interests and the dishonesty of the bill. Then when a minority report was prepared by Representative Wearin of Iowa, he at first declined to sign it, and insisted on minor changes. The fight on the bill could only be made on the floor by offering amendments, debate being limited to five minutes for each amendment. About ninety had been prepared and Mr. Brewster was expected to introduce thirty of them, dealing particularly with the legal aspects of the bill. The first day of debate, however, found Mr. Brewster trying a private law case in his home state of Maine. He returned the next day and, on the assumption that he was still loyal to his opposition to the bill, it was decided that he should propose the motion to recommit it. This motion must be made in writing; Mr. Brewster duly signed it, and he and other leaders received instructions as to the precise time when it had to be introduced—just before the roll call. The amendments finally gave out, and the time came to move to recommit. But Brewster sat motionless in his seat. Only after the roll call had begun did he rise to present his motion, and was ruled out of order. The vote to recommit probably would have carried, and thus the bill might never have passed the House.

IT IS MUSSOLINI, not Hitler, who is bringing the European crisis to a head; at least he is leading his fellow-dictator for first honors in demonstrating that fascism means war. Fighting in Abyssinia is scheduled to begin in late September, when the rainy season ends. Great Britain, making a desperate effort to use the League to curb Italy, finds France unwilling to collaborate. This makes it impracticable for Britain to close the Suez Canal to Mussolini's transports, or to threaten to do so unless it wishes to embark on a permanent anti-Italian policy. France's reluctance to restrain Italy undoubtedly arises out of an understanding reached during the Austrian crisis, now strengthened as a result of the Anglo-German naval agreement. The British policy as regards Abyssinia has produced one display of courage, the offer of the British port of Zeila and a corridor leading to it, the first proposal to give up territory in the cause of peace yet made by a great power. France, in declining to join Britain in using the League against Italy, can claim to be realistic, since Italy would withdraw and thus bring the final collapse of collective effort. Yet France's own security rests on collective action, and a still more discredited League weakens France. The morality of Europe was stricken with the ascendancy of Nazi Germany, but some semblance of it was left while Germany remained outside the League. Britain did not purify the air by the naval agreement with Hitler. And Mussolini's open defiance of his League obligations is destroying the little discipline that remains in Europe.

THE RECENT INCIDENTS along the Manchoukuo-Siberian border, together with renewed Japanese activity in Inner Mongolia, indicate that the danger of a Soviet-Japanese conflict is not wholly removed. While Japan's latest sortie into North China has been explained on various grounds, there are reasons for believing that preparation for a possible war against the Soviet Union has been the determining factor. As long as North China remained under Nanking, there was always a danger—no matter how subservient Chiang might be—that bands of Chinese patriots might harass the Japanese lines of communication. The violent attack which General Isogai recently launched against the underground Kuomintang organizations in North China suggests that anti-Japanese agitation has never been fully stamped out. Particularly disturbing is the extension of Japanese influence in Inner Mongolia. Having already established military airdromes in several cities of Eastern Chahar, Japan is now demanding that it be allowed to construct an air base at Kalgan, the southern terminus of the caravan route which runs through Outer Mongolia to the Siberian border. Under the guise of extending the demilitarized area set up by the Tangku truce, Japanese troops have taken over control of several thousand square miles of territory and have forced the Chinese authorities to grant free passage to their agents, who are seeking to enlist the support of the Mongolian priests and landlords in a holy war against communism. Each step which Japan takes toward the North or West makes war more difficult to avert.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING last February invited Dr. Caroline F. Ware, formerly associate professor of history at Vassar College, to teach three courses in the current summer session, in the catalogue of which she was in time duly listed. On June 11 Dr. Ware received a wire from the dean of the summer session informing her that it had been discovered that she was married, and since the university had a rule forbidding the employment of married women in any capacity, she would not be permitted to give her courses as agreed. Dr. Ware promptly replied that she intended to press for the fulfilment of her contract, and on receiving a subsequent letter from President A. G. Crane explaining that the rule had been adopted as a consequence of the depression, she wrote that the University of Wyoming was supposed to be an educational institution, not

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a work-relief organization. Wyoming was the first State to adopt women's suffrage, refusing indeed to enter the union until its constitution, permitting women to vote, was accepted. Even if this were not the case, it is difficult to understand how a state university in good standing would be so shortsighted as to institute a policy of discrimination against women for the sole reason that they were married. We hope that Dr. Ware will make it as hot for the university as she possibly can. Its trustees and its president already look silly; perhaps if they can be made to feel uncomfortable enough they will rescind the prohibition against married women and pass a rule refusing to employ any professor who does not wear side whiskers instead. Logically, we believe they would be on firmer ground.

ONE WOULD THINK that there would be nothing easier in the world than for a minister of the Christian or Jewish religion to be opposed to international butchery, but apparently casuistry is still a mighty weapon among men of the cloth. A few months ago 200 rabbis and Protestant ministers of New York drew up a "declaration of purpose," the last sentence of which read: "In the spirit of true patriotism and with deep personal conviction I . . . renounce war and never will I support another." The Social Service Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Conference of New York, at the last annual session of the local church, presented a similar declaration. Immediately the more respectable of the clergy raised a cry of outrage at this "straight pacifism." The Reverend J. Campbell White, of the West Forty-fourth Street United Presbyterian Church, announced that "self-defense is absolutely necessary under present conditions. . . . Ruthless injustice and cruelty must be curbed by force until cured by Christ." Only the other day the Central Conference of American Rabbis, meeting in Chicago, battled over the issue of war, and once again caution won a victory over courage and decency. The conference was confronted with a resolution calling upon its members to "refuse to support any war in which this country or any other country may engage, on the ground that war is a denial of all for which religion stands." The resolution was overwhelmingly defeated. Rabbi James G. Heller of Cincinnati opposed it on the ground that war was *not* "a denial of all for which religion stands," Rabbi Joseph L. Barron of Milwaukee "held it the duty of religion to support war to repel an enemy," and Rabbi Morris M. Feuerlicht of Indianapolis thought that the resolution ought to be "put in the wastebasket."

ABRAHAM CAHAN, editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward,* which claims the largest circulation of any foreign-language paper in the world, has just celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday, and has received numerous expressions of congratulation on his forty years as an editor. Outside his excellent novel, "The Rise of David Levinsky," published a quarter of a century ago, we fail to see anything in his career that raises it above the average. He has been praised as a great editor, but those who have praised him have seldom been able to read Yiddish and thus were incompetent to pass judgment upon his journalistic work. A close reading of his paper for many years convinces us that the *Jewish Daily Forward* is far from being a great newspaper. It is full of the features that make the Hearst papers the rags they are. Almost every issue contains fiction serials which if translated into English would grace the New York *Daily Mirror.* There is also a letter department that is a compound of the writings of Beatrice Fairfax and Bugs Baer. Its editorials are distinguished by their irrelevance and plausible ignorance, and its news columns are either too skimpy or poorly written or both. Its general attitude on Russia has been one of prejudiced antagonism. Such is the paper that Mr. Cahan has edited for nearly forty years. He himself has learned little with the years. He thinks that "republican Germany . . . was in excellent shape under the Social Democrats," and that President Roosevelt's "New Deal was excellent as far as it went. . . . A progressive spirit is noticeable all over the country."

RECENTLY we heard José Iturbi conduct Beethoven's Eroica symphony at the New York Stadium concerts. It was an indifferent performance, but we enjoyed ourselves because in imagination we transformed the ragged sounds coming from the stage into the magnificent tones of the same symphony when conducted by Toscanini or Bruno Walter. Good music well played is such a rarity in New York in the summertime that we are grateful even for poor performances because they remind us of really able ones. Unfortunately, we shall soon be denied even this simple pleasure: the Stadium concerts this year have gone in more heavily than ever before for operas and ballets. Not that there is anything disgraceful about operas and ballets, but somehow we cannot get rid of the feeling that they are inferior music and had best be kept indoors. Perhaps the reason for this feeling is to be found in our super-intellectuality or perhaps we are influenced simply by plain musical conservatism. At any rate, we have infinitely more pleasure in listening to "Eine Kleine Nachtmusik" than to "Aida," and to Beethoven's Seventh symphony than to "Adventures of Harlequin." Time was, and not so long ago, when the musical fare at the Stadium was almost wholly classical, and the attendance was apparently quite satisfactory. If it has fallen off in the past two or three years, the reason may have been the continuously inferior conducting and not the nature of the music played. Willem van Hoogstraten, who has been the chief conductor during the past ten years, is not a *Kapellmeister* of the highest competence.

OUR ADMIRATION for Aldermanic President Bernard S. Deutsch mounts day by day. His persistent espousal of the cause of the medical students and technicians who were dismissed from Columbia University for pacifist activities without a hearing is so extraordinary for a municipal office-holder that we are almost willing to forgive him all the nonsense he has spouted in the past. As a member of the Board of Estimate he recently voted against granting Columbia a franchise for a conduit to carry cables across West 116th Street. Through the affirmative votes of all the other members of the board, including Mayor LaGuardia, he was defeated. But it will be impossible to defeat him on the Sinking Fund Commission, which considers all pleas for tax exemption and where the approval of them must be by unanimous vote. Columbia applies annually for the cancelation of various municipal charges, including a tax exemption on about $20,000,000 worth of property. Mr. Deutsch can thus give President Butler many serious headaches, and we hope he carries out his threat to do so.

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Big Business Wins in Congress

IT will be difficult for protagonists of our existing "democracy" to explain away the action of the House on the holding-company bill and of the Glass subcommittee on the banking bill. Not by any stretch of the truth can they pretend that the people, of, by, and for whom the country is to be governed, determined the fate of either bill. The House voted against the death sentence for holding companies to favor a privileged minority of investors. The Glass subcommittee refused genuine government control of the volume of deposit money, restored to deposit bankers the business of issuing securities, and authorized the revival of interlocking directorates. Senator Glass, heavily belaureled this year by honorary doctorates from Eastern universities, rendered a signal service to bankers as a special class. The ultimate form of the banking bill may yet be changed through the resistance of the House, where public control of the volume of money is a popular cause. The death sentence in the holding-company bill could be saved through the influence of the Senate, where the utilities lobby is not so effective. This looks as though democracy has friends enough in both houses to save itself. But obversely developed, the picture is not so satisfactory. High finance chooses its fighting ground to suit its ends. The bankers use the technique of conspiracy, which flourishes most effectively in a Senate subcommittee which, if not corrupt, believes passionately in the virtue of private banking and in the sin of financial democracy. The eloquence of the utilities must be more direct; they tell a Congressman that they will finance his reelection or assure his defeat. This argument is most potent in the House, where every member must stand for reelection next year. So the utilities concentrate on the House.

There will be no public inquiry into the machinations of Dr. Glass, for it could only demonstrate that he is an alert, astute Old World gentleman, with a worship of bankers as religious as any Communist's faith in the proletariat. But an inquiry into the utilities lobby is unavoidable. Representative Rankin predicts it "will uncover a saturnalia of corruption that will rock this capital and shock the American people from coast to coast. These lobbyists went to an extent of racketeering never before known in the history of this government." While it is doubtful that an inquiry will reveal anything sensationally different from the traditional utility methods of controlling legislation and legislators, an investigation is essential, and should be intrusted to a Senate committee amply supplied with funds and with the full rights of subpoena. Certainly a House inquiry by the Rules Committee could accomplish little. Its chairman, Congressman O'Connor, a servant of Tammany, voted for the utilities, and only three members of the committee would be interested in exposing the lobby. Even so it is doubtful whether the inquiry will be able to throw light on the unexpected help given the utilities by two of their leading foes. One is Chairman Rayburn of the Interstate Commerce Committee. To quote Representative Rankin: "His capitulation was the most heart-sickening and pathetic spectacle I have ever witnessed since I have been a member of Congress." The other is Congressman Brewster of Maine, who became the hero of the utilities by voting against the death sentence and by airing an attack on Thomas Corcoran, one of the President's personal aides in the utility fight. Brewster had given his word that he was "100 per cent" for the Administration bill. He had been received into the confidential meeting of those leading the campaign for it. He was in charge of legal work for the Passamaquoddy project, which the Maine utilities still hope to undermine. He absented himself from Washington in the heat of the fight and returned just in time to vote against the death sentence. Corcoran, whom he had informed of his change of heart, told him he would have to be dropped from his legal assignment on the Passamaquoddy project. Thereupon Brewster took the perilous course of justifying his change of heart by accusing Corcoran of threatening to withdraw the Passamaquoddy project, an accusation which Corcoran staunchly denies. Servants of the utilities in the House quickly seized on the Brewster charge as canceling the activities of the utility lobby. Inquiry probably cannot make clear the motivations of Brewster and Rayburn. Brewster may have done no more than many others—curried favor with conservatives in his own district, fearful of voting according to his personal convictions. The evil genius in this drama is not the lobby but the quiet and persistent control of local politics by the utilities. Any investigation must proceed carefully and exhaustively if it is to put together a presentation of a prevailing situation stirring enough to arouse the public.

This inquiry will be one of four which will be in progress after the adjournment of Congress. The Munitions Committee will be rummaging among Morgan's papers to learn to what extent our Number One Banker drew us into the World War. Another committee will be investigating the connection between bankers and the railroads; another, the American Telegraph and Telephone Company. Thus a new branch of government is coming into existence, the Senate investigation. We already have government by direct financial interests; now and again there is government by telegraph and radio (as during the World Court fight); and here is the antidote to both, government by education. The first banking investigation sent the bankers into hiding for two years, from which they have only been rescued by the respectable Dr. Glass. These four inquiries should give the country another prodding reminder of what it means to be ruled by big business. They should make it difficult for the President to maintain his cheerful demeanor of compromise with things as they are and force him to campaign next year purely as a reformer. Once Congress has adjourned he probably will begin to awaken public opinion, which once was his only support, but which he has done so much to chloroform. Admittedly, the President as the crusading reformer would be infinitely more attractive than as the economist or as the builder of the social state. We believe he can reestablish his hold over the country in this role. But it will be a strange commentary on his doctrine of compromise if, after striving for a full term to wheedle big business with concessions, he must run for reelection as its outspoken disciplinarian.

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Vanishing Opportunity

THE shortsightedness of the Administration in abruptly terminating the Soviet-American debt negotiations last winter has been strikingly illustrated by the credit arrangements which the Soviet government has recently obtained in Europe. First came the 200,000,000-mark credit agreement with a German banking consortium headed by the Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Gesellschaft, signed on April 10. This was followed late in May by a general trade accord with Czecho-Slovakia, which provided for what is in effect a five-year, 6 per cent, government-guaranteed loan of 250,000,000 crowns.

Although the Czecho-Slovakian credit is not so large as those previously arranged in Germany and elsewhere, its terms are highly advantageous. Previously the credits extended to Soviet foreign-trade organizations were what is known as "commercial" credits, extended by individual firms and in some instances partially guaranteed by the government. While from the Soviet point of view these marked a significant advance over the era of no credits, they involved excessive charges and considerable overpayment owing to the high cost of discounting the unguaranteed portion of the advances. Recently the Soviet authorities have come to the conclusion that this form of credit has outlived its usefulness. The Czecho-Slovakian loan is to be covered by Soviet government bonds rather than by bills of exchange, thus giving the Russian trading organizations the advantages of cash discounts. Certain credits available in Great Britain have been refused because of their relatively high cost. Where satisfactory terms could not be arranged the Soviets have paid in cash, such purchases being confined to immediate needs.

Back of this shift in policy lies the improvement in Soviet internal economic conditions—commented on in a recent issue of *The Nation*—and a resultant change in its basic requirements. Only a few years ago the Soviet Union was compelled to buy practically all of its machinery and a large share of its raw materials abroad. Today it has reached a point in industrial development where, if necessary, it can meet all its needs out of domestic production. Relieved from the pressure of immediate necessity, it has enjoyed a large favorable balance of trade in the past two years and has been able to reduce its foreign indebtedness to less than one-quarter of the 1931 amount. This fact, coupled with its rapidly increasing gold production and its perfect record in meeting obligations, has greatly strengthened the Soviet credit position.

The United States has habitually lagged several years behind Europe in recognizing the significance of changes in Soviet trade policy. When, about six years ago, one European country after another was establishing systems of government-guaranteed credits to aid their manufacturers in accepting orders from the U. S. S. R., this country not only failed to make such provisions but imposed severe restrictions on the importation of Russian goods. The result was that despite a predilection for American equipment and technique the Soviet government was compelled to divert a considerable part of the business which might have been placed in this country to our more farsighted European competitors; and American exports to Russia, which had averaged more than $100,000,000 annually for several years, dwindled to about 10 per cent of that figure. Recognition of the Soviet Union by the Roosevelt Administration brought a slight improvement in trade, but owing to the lack of credit facilities the gain has been slight as compared with the possibilities. If the present trend is maintained, Soviet purchases in the United States during 1935 will be about $30,000,000, or approximately twice as great as in 1934. With adequate credit this could be increased about tenfold.

Attorney General Cummings's interpretation of the Johnson act prevents the extension of loans or credits to the Soviet Union by banks or industrial concerns. If American manufacturers are to obtain any substantial share of the expanding Soviet purchases, some provision will have to be made for government credits, such as was intended by the establishment of the ill-fated Export-Import Bank. Now that the international credit blockade of the U. S. S. R. has been broken, it is almost certain that the scramble for Soviet trade will be intensified. Already there are reports that Germany has offered a new loan of a billion marks—sufficient to cover the present volume of Soviet purchases in the United States for more than a dozen years. While this particular offer has been rejected on political grounds, it should serve as a warning to the Administration that further delay may shut the United States out of the one expanding foreign market.

Our Noble Educators

THE National Education Association, in solemn conclave assembled, opened its annual session by proposing a program described by school leaders as the "most statesman-like steps ever taken by a teachers' organization." It would be unkind to point out the faintness of this praise. Let us pass on quickly to the program itself, which provides for the creation of a commission of seventeen on a five-year plan to make a survey of American education and recommend far-reaching proposals for its improvement. The first, and presumably the most important, task assigned to the committee is "to plan for continued adaptation of education to social needs." This, of course, is admirable; it might mean that our national educators were beginning to be faintly cognizant of the unreality of much of our educational program, falling as it does between the two stools of the old system of classical training and such vague attempts as we have made to introduce modifications in line with our industrial and social development; it might even mean that leaders among our teachers were aware of the rifts in our democratic lute and were preparing to adapt our school system to the cultural inconsistencies of a society in which millions have not enough to eat, in a country rich beyond parallel in the resources of production, and a small group owns or controls the main portion of our national wealth.

The subsequent proceedings of the Denver convention, which began badly enough with a tabling of the resolution on academic freedom, did indeed indicate a certain amount of enlightenment. After a lively discussion the academic-freedom resolution was forced through by the insurgents of the rank and file. On paper it was all that could be asked. It provides for a committee of five, three of whom are to be classroom teachers, whose duties are to publicize and

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combat any proposed legislation against freedom of teaching, to investigate cases of discharge in violation of the principle of academic freedom, to assist teachers deprived of their positions for this reason, and to "cooperate with other representative organizations actively engaged in maintaining the principles of academic freedom." Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, representing the joint teachers' organizations of New York City, leader of the liberal forces in the convention, declared that the "progressive elements in the association have obtained more of their demands than ever before in the history of the association." But that Dr. Lefkowitz himself was not without doubts of the practical operation of the resolution was evidenced by his further comment that "it now remains to be seen if executives and committees will carry out the spirit and intent of the resolutions." Nor do these doubts seem too far fetched in the light of another resolution proposed from the floor by J. G. Allen of Scotland, Pennsylvania, which was embraced perhaps with feelings of relief by the convention as a whole. This expressed the association's belief in the "fundamental principles of American democracy" as the "best so far devised by the mind of man to govern free people," and pledged its intention "so to teach the youth of the land."

It would appear that the two resolutions contain certain contradictory elements. In practice, that is, if a teacher wished to describe to his students the workings of the Soviet government, he would be obliged to add that of course it was inferior to our own democracy. Otherwise he could not avail himself of the privilege of championship by his fellow-members of the N. E. A. in the event of his discharge for mentioning so unfortunate a subject in the classroom. If, on less dangerous ground, he wished to discuss the English system of legislation by parliamentary committee, he would have to point out the superiority of our own Congress, which operates somewhat differently. In other words, either the resolution on academic freedom or the resolution pledging teachers to avow the incomparable blessings of our form of government is so much waste paper.

A courageous attempt, also led by Dr. Lefkowitz, to modify the complete control by five trustees of the N. E. A.'s permanent fund, amounting to more than $800,000, was twice defeated. Dr. Lefkowitz's proposal was that expenditures from the fund might be made if voted by a two-thirds' vote of the assembly in two successive years. This seems to be a modest-enough amendment, and the administration of large sums by a group of five men to contain elements rather less than democratic. The majority of the N. E. A. was satisfied with it, however.

A number of complaints were heard, notably one expressed by Professor George D. Strayer of Columbia University, about the recent appropriation of $50,000,000 for the government youth program, which was made to the FERA instead of to the N. E. A. With all due respect to Professor Strayer, we suspect that the sum, insufficient as it may be for the needs of millions of young Americans whose future seems somewhat less than assured, was suitably allocated. So far the N. E. A. has given little promise that it would spend any number of millions of dollars wisely for the guidance and protection of American youth. Until it appears that the resolution on academic freedom really means what it says, one is justified in suspecting the basic intentions of the N. E. A.

Summer Theaters

MUCH has been said for and against the "summer theater," a relatively new institution whose growth during the last few years has scattered professional and semi-professional acting companies over the countryside, especially in New England, where summer residents are thickest. Opinions differ concerning its value as a laboratory for testing plays designed for Broadway, but one of the best things about the summer theater is just the fact that the summer play does not have to meet the fierce competition of the regular season. Broadway conditions put an absurdly high premium upon secondary virtues—upon slickness of writing and production, upon mechanical efficiency, and upon superficial contemporaneity. Audiences on vacation are much more favorably disposed toward plays whose virtues are not of the conventionally smart kind.

It is doubtful, for instance, if anyone would have risked "opening cold" on Broadway with a revival of Wycherley's "The Country Wife," which was performed last week with fine effect in Lawrence Langner's Country Playhouse at Westport. Perhaps it will get to the metropolis ultimately, as its predecessor "The School for Husbands" did, but the country theater provides ideal conditions for experimenting with the sort of revival which ought to be more frequent on Broadway than it is. The play in question is, of course, one of the finest of the late seventeenth century, and its author shares almost equally with Congreve credit for creating a tradition of sophisticated comedy still alive today. But never since the age in which it was written has there been another which ought to appreciate it as much as this one. Nor is it merely that we are used to speech almost as plain as that which delighted the gallants of the Restoration. Our "sophistication" is nearer to theirs than to that of any other period, and we can enter more fully into their spirit.

Incidentally, the particular production was a delightful one, and the cast—which included Tom Powers and Frances Fuller as well as Ruth Gordon, the star—was excellent. Miss Gordon, indeed, was an inspired choice, and she acted the role of the *fausse ingénue* with a sense of its values and a sense of style which might make one think she had been trained in a tradition of artificial acting that no one has really been adequately trained in today. It would be an excellent thing for both actors and audiences if both had more frequent opportunity to discover, not only how alive some of the old plays are, but to what extent they made possible effects which we have forgotten to seek.

"The Country Wife" held the stage well into the eighteenth century but only in a very drastically revised form. It is amusing to note that it can now again be played almost as it was written. The student familiar with the text would have discerned a certain simplification of the subplot and the omission of a few memorable lines. But he may also take whatever satisfaction he may care to take from the observation that most of the deleted lines were apparently removed less because they were risqué than because they were brutal. In most respects we are not more squeamish than the audiences of the seventeenth century but we are hardly prepared to regard certain subjects—notably that of venereal disease—quite as jocosely as they did.

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Issues and Men

England and the United States

WHEN the recent change in the British Cabinet took place, the cables told us that the new Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, is distinctly pro-American, and that Sir Samuel Hoare may also be relied upon to conduct the foreign policy of Great Britain with the United States always in the forefront of the picture. This is gratifying of course—and cynics should not try to belittle it by saying that about the first thing Mr. Baldwin did was to set forth once more why Great Britain could not pay its financial obligation to the United States. It is obviously of the utmost importance in this particular crisis of the world's history, with Japan behaving worse than ever in China and Hitler keeping all Europe on tenterhooks, that the governments of the United States and Great Britain should see eye to eye as much of the time as possible and informally cooperate whenever conditions permit.

Just what does eye to eye mean? Well, certainly not an alliance of any kind. Some months ago the Marquis of Lothian came to this country to talk up a genuine alliance between the two countries, a plan which he subsequently published in full in the London *Times*. It was that the United States fleet should take over the safeguarding of Great Britain's interests in China, while Great Britain with its fleet and army should take over the safeguarding of America's interests in Europe. The idea was preposterous, so childish as to make it amazing that it could be seriously put forth. It showed that the Marquis had not the faintest understanding of political conditions in the United States. For one thing, if such an alliance were seriously suggested, the pro-German and Irish groups alone would make the welkin resound to their anger. Never has there been a time since the Venezuelan episode of 1895 when such a proposal would have aroused greater indignation in political circles in Washington. What interests has the United States in Europe today that call for supervision by the British government and the British army and navy? And who could possibly think that any American would be willing to see our government make the cause of British merchants in China, of the exploiters of China, its own? The proposal was hardly a sane one.

None the less, moral cooperation with Great Britain at all times ought to be one of the major aims of the State Department of the United States, without such cooperation binding us in any way to an alliance or to the use of force. Writing in *Foreign Affairs* for July, Sir Willmott Lewis, the able correspondent of the London *Times* in Washington, says that the relationship of the United States and the British commonwealth is "incomparably the most fruitful for good or evil" in all the pattern of international affairs, and proves it by pointing out how great a change would be effected in the entire international situation if there were marked antagonism between the United States and the United Kingdom—similar, let us say, to the relationship between Germany and France. He dwells on the fact that the "primary interest" of the English-speaking world is peace. He correctly points out that the difference between British and American policy is a constitutional one, that under the British constitution executive and legislative powers are one, whereas in the United States the powers of government are diffused. "Thus," he writes, "it is that American foreign policy so often resembles Penelope's web, for what is woven by the President may be unwoven by the Senate, to the confusion of such suitors as, for instance, Secretary Hay with his treaties, President Taft with his proposal for arbitration, and President Wilson with his Covenant of the League of Nations." This has been, and is, a reason that foreign countries are puzzled whether to accept a declaration by the American Executive as binding in the absence of action by the Senate. Sir Willmott makes the interesting suggestion that the hesitancy of the great powers to adopt the non-recognition doctrine of Secretary Stimson in the case of Manchoukuo was due to the fear that the Senate would not back up Mr. Stimson and President Hoover.

Even in Great Britain, however, there have been marked changes in foreign policy, though the historical continuity has been preserved for a long while. But if a really radical government should come into power, there might be a new departure in British foreign policy. Sir Willmott's final conclusion is that Walter Lippmann's demand for clearer definition of British and American policy "at the point of greatest susceptibility as a basis for closer action between the two countries" does not cover the situation. It is "too gradual." What he would have is "the development on this side of the Atlantic of a positive concern with *the causes of war* everywhere." With this surely everyone can agree. But that does not mean that if such a positive concern were developed here it would result either in a de facto alliance with Great Britain or in joint action with Great Britain in every case. What we need is sympathetic understanding with Great Britain and, as I have already said, moral cooperation at all possible points. If Japan again takes another slice of China, there might well be a joint protest by both the great Anglo-Saxon countries and a publicly announced counseling together on the measures to be taken to focus public opinion upon an obvious aggressor who is bound to find one excuse after the other to dismember China and dominate Asia.

This focusing of an aroused and outraged public opinion so as to bring it to bear effectively on events in Europe or in Asia is the great problem before all enlightened statesmen. It is the one genuine hope of escape from another bath of blood for the whole world. It does seem as if we should be able to work out a consistent American foreign policy along this line, one which would be adhered to both by Congress and by successive administrations of whatever party.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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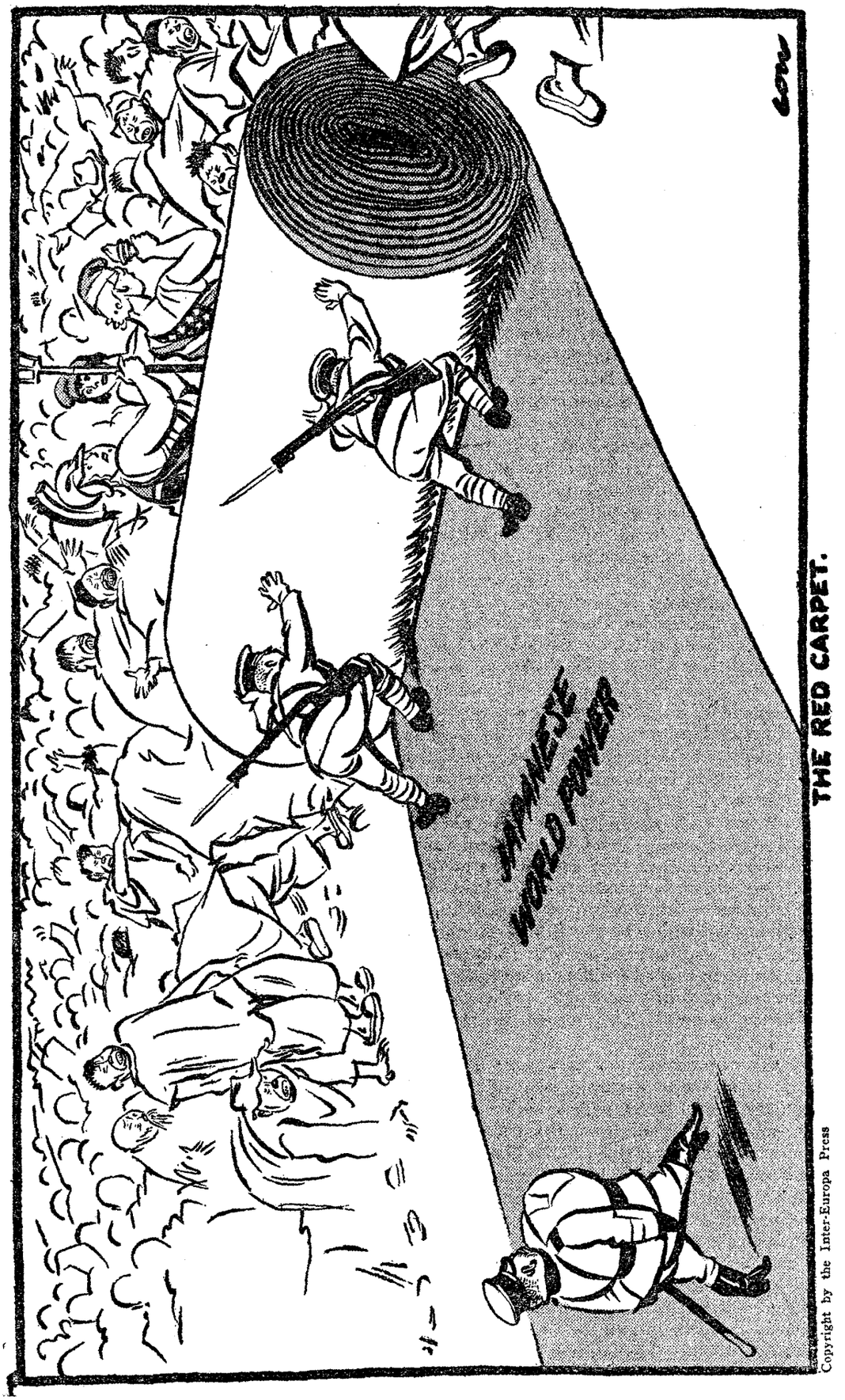

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The Radio Nostrum Racket

By RICHARD LEE STROUT

A STARTLING exposure of the kind of drugs that go into patent medicines now being advertised all over the country by the radio was given before the Federal Communications Commission by Dr. Arthur J. Cramp, representing the American Medical Association, at the recent National Conference on Education and Broadcasting. Dealing by name with such nostrums as Peruna, Willard's Tablets, Ex-Lax, Alka-Seltzer, and Crazy Crystals, this extraordinary story of drugged proprietary medicines received, naturally enough perhaps, practically no newspaper attention. But the announcement by the Columbia Broadcasting Corporation that it was going to clear its own channels of objectionable advertising of this type, coupled with the drastic action of the Communications Commission in summoning twenty-one radio stations to show cause why their licenses should not be canceled after they had carried the notorious Marmola program, indicates that public pressure for an extensive radio house-cleaning is making headway at last.

Even the action of the Communications Commission, which affected many of the outstanding stations of the country, failed to attract widespread newspaper notice. In the past the commission has occasionally cited individual stations for broadcasting quack remedies, but this is the first time that it has taken to task what appears to be the entire roster of stations carrying a specific objectionable program. Furthermore, in previous cases the commission has usually dropped proceedings after the specific program was discontinued; in this case, however, although citations against sixteen of the original twenty-one stations were dropped after their discontinuance of the Marmola program and promise of good behavior, the remaining five stations, including Station KNX of Los Angeles, with a 50,000-watt clear-channel, must appear at a meeting of censure on next October 3, when hearings will he held.

The twenty-one stations originally cited for broadcasting the Marmola program extended from coast to coast. The program, the report indicates, was sent out twice a day for fifteen-minute periods for approximately two months. Broadcasters now frankly admit they knew nothing of the product whose alleged virtues their stations extolled; but instead of taking this ignorance as damning evidence of lack of social responsibility, the Communications Commission accepted the plea as reason for letting sixteen of the twenty-one stations off.

Marmola is a preparation represented as able to reduce fat; it contains a powerful drug. Back in 1929 the Federal Trade Commission barred the company from distributing its product unless it was accompanied by a statement that it was dangerous to health except when taken under the supervision of a physician. In a test case the Supreme Court held, however, that the commission had exceeded its authority, since interstate commerce was not proved, although the court agreed that the evidence showed the preparation was unsafe for general distribution except under medical advice. The Post Office then summoned the company in a fraud order, and the Marmola producers agreed to quit business and cease mail distribution. As a matter of fact the company merely reorganized and changed its name, and as the Raladam Company proceeded to distribute the same old Marmola through drugstores instead of by mail, and to use in large part the great agency of the radio instead of newspaper advertising.

The Communications Commission has life-and-death control over broadcasting stations through its power to extend or cancel customary six-month licenses, but political factors have hitherto made it extremely timid in using this authority. Now, however, under the bolder leadership of Anning S. Prall, the new chairman, it seems bent on cracking the whip over some of the big stations. The testimony given to the commission by Dr. Cramp as the official representative of the American Medical Association—he offered transcripts of specific patent-medicine programs made from phonographic records taken off the air—shows the crying need of action to stop the most dangerous exploitation of the public attempted in years. Dr. Cramp, appearing with Dr. W. W. Bauer of the A. M. A., made his statement in public hearings on May 15. His testimony showed beyond all doubt that the radio-equipped home is being furnished misleading and fraudulent advertisements of nostrums that are deleterious to health, habit-forming, or downright poisonous. Analyses of the ingredients of the nostrums listed were, in most cases, made by experts of the American Medical Association. Dr. Cramp's testimony, then, is the authoritative comment of the spokesman of America's premier medical organization on the products which make use of the publicly owned radio channels with federal acquiescence.

Introducing his statements with the remarks, "I have tried as nearly as possible to take a fair cross-section of patent-medicine advertising as it goes on the air today," he continued as follows, according to the transcript of evidence of the Federal Communications Commission:

ALKA-SELTZER

> Alka-Seltzer is advertised so as to play up the idea that it is an "anti-acid." . . . The essential drug in Alka-Seltzer is aspirin, or, as known in the medical profession, acetyl salicylic acid. . . . When you dissolve two tablets of Alka-Seltzer in a glass of water, as is suggested in the trade package, you get, according to the analysis of the chemists of the American Medical Association, nearly nine grains of aspirin and nearly one grain of salicylic acid, together with the citric acid and baking soda that produce the effervescence. A person who follows the directions and takes sixteen tablets a day would obviously consume over seventy grains of aspirin and over six grains of salicylic acid in that period. . . . Nowhere, however, is any hint given of the amount of aspirin present, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the vast majority of people who take Alka-Seltzer are still quite ignorant of the fact that they are taking aspirin. While the public generally believes that aspirin is harmless, the medical profession has long known its potentialities for producing alarming symptoms . . . while there have been reported in medical literature several causes of death from the use of aspirin.

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Crazy Crystals

Crazy Crystals are said to be "just the minerals taken from the natural water." The water in question is Crazy Water, a preparation that in the past has been the subject of action by Federal Food and Drug officials in at least sixteen cases. A large number of these cases were brought because the water contained filthy, decomposed, and putrid substances. Some of the cases were brought because Crazy Water was sold under the claim that it was curative . . . claims that were declared in court to be false and fraudulent. From the various published reports of the Crazy Water concern itself, it is admitted that the chief ingredient is sodium sulphate, commonly known as Glauber's salt, or the "horse salts" of the veterinarian. . . . Salts or saline cathartics are among the most abused medicaments used by the public. They should be classed among habit-forming drugs, for there is no question that they are responsible for a large proportion of cases of cathartic habit. . . .

Peruna

Peruna is a patent medicine that has been on the market for many years. It has always been highly alcoholic, the amount of alcohol varying from 27 per cent to the present 18 per cent. The drugs that are alleged to be in it, in addition to alcohol, have varied at different times. Thirty years ago the Office of Indian Affairs forbade the sale of Peruna to the Indians because they got drunk on it. About the same time the Bureau of Internal Revenue notified Hartman, who then put the stuff out, that he would have to put some drugs in Peruna or take out a liquor license. He added senna. This cut down the sale to such an extent that Hartman attempted to recoup his losses by putting the old Peruna back on the market under another name—Ka-tar-no—to be sold under liquor-license restrictions. At that time Peruna contained 20 per cent of alcohol. When national prohibition went on the statute books the Peruna concern cut down its alcohol content from 20 to 12 per cent for the domestic Peruna, although export Peruna still contained 20 per cent. About 1927 Peruna increased the alcohol from 12 to 18 per cent, the amount that it still has. Alcohol is a narcotic drug, and sold indiscriminately to the public in the guise of a "patent medicine," it carries with it very definite dangers. The Peruna broadcast, it will be noted, recommends that "a tablespoonful or two" be taken about half an hour before each meal and before going to bed. Two tablespoonfuls is an ounce, or about half a wineglassful. As Peruna contains twice the amount of alcohol to be found in champagne, the amount of alcohol the purchaser may get is by no means negligible.

Willard's Tablets

The Willard Tablets advertising theme is that the preparation is a home treatment for poor digestion, heartburn, acid dyspepsia, and stomach ulcers. . . . The tablets themselves were reported in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* to be just another one of the anti-acid preparations, containing, essentially, baking powder, bismuth subnitrate, and magnesium oxide, a combination that is put up in non-proprietary form by most of the pharmaceutical houses and sold, not, of course, for stomach ulcer, but for symptomatic treatment of hyperacidity.

I might interpolate at this time that there has been a terrific number of these stomach-ulcer and hyperacidity patent medicines on the market during the depression. The reason is not far to see. The depression has brought about a condition of worry in the minds of hundreds of thousands and millions, and that worry has reflected itself by upset digestive conditions, particularly with hyperacidity. These people have been led to believe by advertising over the radio and otherwise that they are suffering from stomach ulcer. . . .

Ex-Lax

Ex-Lax is broadcast as "the delicious chocolate laxative that will not form a habit." The purgative drug in Ex-Lax is phenolphthalein, which, like all chemical purgatives, may form a habit. There have been numerous cases reported in medical literature of serious results following the use of phenolphthalein. . . . Yet this preparation Ex-Lax is put up in the enticing form of a candy and sold to all who wish to buy. In 1932 a case was reported in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* of a ten-year-old boy who ate the contents of a box of Ex-Lax in mistake for candy and died. The medical profession has gone on record as being opposed to the indiscriminate sale of powerful drugs put up in the form of candy or chewing gum. . . . Dr. F. J. Cullen of the Federal Food and Drug Administration issued a warning in 1933 against the dangers to the public health in the widespread exploitation of phenolphthalein put up in the form of confections.

Commenting on the analysis, Dr. Cramp emphasized that the preparations singled out were "by no means the most objectionable" but were taken as a fair cross-section. Dr. Cramp is a practical man and did not enter into philosophical discussions of why publicly owned ether channels should be turned over to private interests for exploitation. His plea was based on concrete grounds—possibly the medical profession's jealousy of its prerogatives played a part. Radio advertising of patent medicines, he declared, is more objectionable than newspaper advertising on four counts:

> Many newspapers as a matter of enlightened self-interest have developed certain standards of decency and censorship that keep out of their pages the advertisements of many products of this character. Further, the public has through several generations developed a defense mechanism against the printed word and is much less likely to be carried away by false or fraudulent claims made in cold type than it is when similar claims are made verbally by a plausible radio announcer. Then, too, claims that are to be made in a printed form have a permanency that causes the makers of them to be much more cautious than when they are to have the ephemeral character of a radio broadcast. It is also to be remembered that impressionable young people do not, as a rule, read patent-medicine advertisements in newspapers or magazines. These same people can hardly avoid listening to the patent-medicine ballyhoo that comes into their homes over the radio.

The commission's action in the Marmola case followed Dr. Cramp's testimony but was not connected with it, according to a member of the commission. Since then has come the denunciation by Congressman Culkin of New York of the government's part in helping to make the youth of the nation "alcohol conscious" through the admission of liquor advertisements to radio channels. The changed policy announced by the Columbia Broadcasting Corporation seems to indicate a feeling among the powers-that-be, not that exploitation of the public radio domain is bad in itself, but that it can be carried too far; that, in the words of Dr. Cramp, "broadly speaking, broadcasting stations are still far behind newspapers and magazines in their recognition not merely of the dangers to the public health involved in the advertising of these secret nostrums, but also of the public loss of confidence in all advertising that such advertisements are bound to engender eventually."

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Behind the Overthrow of Calles

By L. O. PRENDERGAST

Mexico City, June 27

THE Mexican Revolution has reached the parting of the ways. Usually mistaken for a popular, proletarian movement but actually a bourgeois revolution nearly classic in design, in which the middle class used the force of mass discontent as a weapon for the achievement of its own aims, it has now discarded its proletarian content and avowed its class character. The cycle which began in 1911 with the overthrow of General Díaz reached its apogee in the years 1917-24, and it has since been slowly descending the curve of completion. The abdication of General Calles, whose sensational declarations published in the Mexico City press of June 12 precipitated the crisis which unseated him, marks its end.

There is an apparent paradox here in the fact that in the crisis just surmounted Calles took the reactionary position and President Lázaro Cárdenas, who succeeds him as actual as well as nominal ruler, the radical-progressive. But that the paradox is only apparent and not real the following analysis should make clear.

The last four years in Mexico have been marked by one political crisis after another. Superficially the product of that selfish ambition and *personalismo* which have ever been the curse of Mexican politics, they have nevertheless sprung, in a more profound sense, from the new economic forces stirring in the country. The impact of the world depression, while it has had little effect on the mass of the rural population, which lives in a state of permanent depression, has had serious repercussions among the city workers. The result has been a rising unrest which has begun to produce a division of opinion among the ruling groups over the manner in which the as yet unchallenged domination of the Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR) might best be maintained. Above this still embryonic schism, holding his henchmen in line with an iron hand, distributing punishment and rewards as occasion required, loomed the powerful figure of General Plutarco Elías Calles, ex-President and, since 1924, virtual dictator of Mexico.

The first open indication of the rift came with the "resignation" of President Pascual Ortiz Rubio in 1932. After the assassination of President-elect Alvaro Obregón in 1928, Calles appointed Emilio Portes Gil as ad interim President until elections could safely be held for a new chief executive to fill out Obregón's term. In 1929 Calles directed the convention of the National Revolutionary Party to nominate Ortiz Rubio, and he was duly elected by the usual comfortable majority. Some time after he took possession of his office in 1930, this feeble puppet was encouraged by ambitious fools, seeking to control him for their own purposes against Calles, to believe that the President of Mexico had a right to think and act for himself. By 1932 a division of the party, based on personalities and involving no economic, social, or political issue, was being created. Calles, who could tolerate no such split in his hand-fed instrument of political domination, acted swiftly and ruthlessly. Ortiz Rubio was forced to resign and leave the country the day after he had told an opening session of the national congress that the rumors of his impending resignation were without foundation in fact.

General Abelardo Rodríguez, close personal friend and business partner of General Calles, was appointed to fill out the unexpired term of his unhappy predecessor, the third President to take office for the period for which Obregón had been elected. The "revolution" now took a sharp turn to the right with a "business" administration under which both native and foreign capital began to bloom. The inside group of enriched revolutionaries around Rodríguez and Calles had feet and hands in the public trough. Building contracts, concessions, and other favors yielded them millions of pesos. Industrialization of the country took a sharp upswing.

But unrest was growing. By 1934 real wages in Mexico City and other industrial regions had shrunk approximately 25 per cent. A false prosperity induced by the depreciation of the currency and by the growing tourist boom provided a semblance of well-being, but the substance was lacking. As always under capitalist "prosperity," the masses were for the most part excluded and the lower middle class was receiving a relatively small share. The labor unions, which for years had existed in a state of suspended animation comparable to that of the American Federation of Labor prior to the NRA, now began to stir. The end of President Rodríguez's term was marked by strikes and a growing solidarity among the unions. Something had to be done.

Rodríguez and his powerful financial and industrial friends knew very well what they wanted to do. Nazi propaganda was making progress in Mexico through the almost open instrumentality of the German Embassy. Jew-baiting, hitherto unknown, suddenly appeared. The Acción Revolucionaria Mexicanista, also known as the Camisas Doradas, or Gold Shirts, was born, with the support, it was everywhere said, of Rodríguez, Aarón Sáenz, governor of the Federal District, and the Monterrey group of heavy industrialists. The reactionary leading circles of the PNR were preparing to throw overboard the crimson demagogy which had served them so long and so well. A resort to an active offensive against workers and peons and an open approach to fascism were in the offing.

However, Calles decided that the traditional methods by which the PNR had maintained its rule for a decade were good for at least one more whirl. On his advice the convention of the party which nominated the new President also adopted a Six-Year Plan as its platform. The plan was designed to advance the proletarian cause, to solve the agrarian problem, to reorganize the national economy, to construct a vast system of public works, to instal socialist education in the schools, and, in the words of one of its more frenetic propagandists, who became Minister of Education in the Cárdenas Cabinet, to prepare for the final abolition of the capitalist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat! General Cárdenas was selected to sell this fantastic piece of demagogy to the Mexican people.

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On December 1, 1934, General Cárdenas was duly installed in office. Calles had been careful not to allow him too much latitude, and his first Cabinet, although it contained a few personal followers of the President, was in its key positions filled by such figures as Rodolfo Elías Calles—son of the General—Juan de Dios Bojórquez, Aarón Sáenz, Narciso Bassols, Tomás Garrido Canábal, and Abraham Ayala González, all of them staunch supporters of Calles and representing his will in the government. At the head of the PNR was another Calles man, General Matías Ramos. The Senate and Chamber of Deputies both contained a Callista majority. In the army a majority of the generals with forces at their command were followers of Calles.

When he was inaugurated, President Cárdenas realized very well that he was universally considered a mere instrument of Calles, without any personality of his own. Everyone supposed that like Ortiz Rubio before him—until, that is, Rubio lost his head—he would faithfully carry out the policy of his master. But Calles had made a mistake. Cárdenas, or his political advisers, saw an opportunity and they were not slow to take advantage of it. It was a dangerous game, for failure meant political suicide at the very least and perhaps physical extinction as well. But in the lofty promises of the Six-Year Plan Calles had given the new President a magnificent weapon.

During his first six months Cárdenas did little but run for office. Although elected by a prodigious majority—the party machine had seen to that—no one knew better than he how meaningless that was. He now set out deliberately to create a personality for himself independent of General Calles. To attract the peons, he promised land and yet more land, not only to the villages in the form of *ejidos*, the former practice of the revolution, but to individuals as well. To attract the workers, he encouraged strikes and organization. He carried on a well-planned campaign to gain the confidence of the army, placing military chieftains loyal to himself one by one in command of the various military zones.

In the meantime Calles had retired to his estate in Sinaloa, ostensibly to allow Cárdenas a free hand in the government. Garrido Canábal, ex-governor of the state of Tabasco, a tool of Calles, was instigated to carry the formal "revolutionary" antagonism of the government toward the church to outrageous lengths, with the purpose of embarrassing the new administration before conservative opinion at home and, more important, in the United States. Garrido, a fantastic Mexican version of our own Huey Long, had built himself a personal dictatorship in Tabasco with the help of his Red Shirts, a private army of gun-toting hoodlums. When he entered the Cabinet he brought them with him to Mexico City. Now he turned them loose on the churchgoers of the Federal District. The "anti-religious" campaign filled the American newspapers with indignation. In the United States Senate a resolution was introduced calling for an investigation—almost for intervention.

But for a time, and in a roundabout way, even this trick worked for Cárdenas. It provided him with a much-needed diversion to raise his prestige among the organized workers and peasants. A government which strove actively to curb the power of the church, to close religious schools, to substitute socialist for bourgeois-Catholic education must be revolutionary! What ground Cárdenas was losing with the religious and politically negligible sections of the middle class he was gaining with the lower classes, where he needed it most. As for the bad publicity in the United States, he could afford to take his chances.

But prices were still going up and wages down. The promises of the Mexican New Deal must be made good by something more than the kidnapping of the Archbishop of Mexico. Under the frank encouragement of the President the labor unions grew. Strikes increased in number and soon developed into a wave of unrest similar—although much smaller in scale—to the struggles initiated by Roosevelt's New Deal.

Calles had gone to the United States for medical treatment and while he was away lost contact to some extent with developments at home. On his return to Sinaloa he was besieged by political friends complaining of the strong anti-Calles sentiment being formed in the government, the object of which was to eliminate Calles from control and establish the independence of Cárdenas. Also to the dictator in his "retirement" came the anguished laments of the big capitalists, who wanted to know how much longer President Cárdenas was to be permitted to run riot. In March Calles returned to the center of affairs and installed himself in Las Palmas, his residence in Cuernavaca, near Mexico City.

Cárdenas, too, began to worry, feeling, perhaps, that the game had been played too fast. Socialism was all very well so long as it was confined to paper plans and an ill-defined future; the official demagogy was being taken altogether too seriously and was feeding the confidence of the labor unions and fostering a growing radicalism. The Communist Party, illegal for several years, had been legalized for the elections, part of the government's show of liberalism and revolutionary sincerity. Now it was gaining ground, striking root among several important sectors of the industrial workers, notably the railroad workers, and carrying on a determined campaign for a united front of all workers' and peasants' organizations.

Cárdenas retreated momentarily. The labor leaders were called into conference with the government, and the subject of obligatory, in place of the existing optional, arbitration in strikes was delicately broached. The despicable Morones, hoping to regain the government support he once enjoyed, readily assented, but Lombardo and the others refused. Cárdenas made no further move backward.

In the meantime signs of discord between the friends of General Cárdenas and General Calles were becoming more visible daily. At the end of May a division took place in both chambers of Congress; a "left wing" was formed by the Cárdenistas. In a minority at first, they nevertheless strove to affirm their liberty of opinion and to free themselves from the control of the PNR, which claimed the right on grounds of party discipline to control all acts of senators and deputies. In spite of the "left-wing" designation, which was so much eyewash, the party was dividing itself according to the traditional *personalismo* of Mexican politics into Callistas and Cardenistas.

On Tuesday, June 11, a commission of left-wing senators went to Cuernavaca to lay the situation before Calles, whom they still recognized as their "chief," and to seek his support against the majority in Congress and the PNR. It was then that Calles loosed the thunderbolt which appeared in the Mexico City press the following morning. Cate-

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gorically disapproving the attitude of the left wing, he denounced all divisions in the party and accused the dissidents of attempting to foment discord between President Cárdenas and himself. In even stronger language he delivered an attack on the workers' organizations and their leaders and on the series of recent strikes as unjustified, the product of "illegitimate" interests, and prejudicial to the prosperity and stability of the government and to the period of reconstruction which the revolution had now entered.

As everyone in Mexico instantly realized, Cárdenas was confronted at last with the showdown. Mexico waited breathlessly for the decision, while the newspapers were filled with messages of congratulation to Calles from the Chamber of Commerce, business men, and all the conservative elements, including even the Catholics, to whom his name had been anathema only a short while ago. A development which Calles had obviously not expected—in his declaration he had made contemptuous reference to the inability of the syndicates to agree among themselves—gave Cárdenas his ace in the hole. The very same day the Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas called a meeting to which all but two labor organizations sent delegates. The united front was voted and a resolution adopted branding the Calles statement as a fascist provocation and threatening a general strike if any rights of the Mexican working class were encroached upon. Within forty-eight hours after Calles's declarations a united front comprising at least 70 per cent of the Mexican workers became a reality.

It is impossible to think that this unexpected result of the political struggle for domination between Calles and Cárdenas did not play a decisive course in setting the latter's course, since he waited until after the formation of the united front to give his answer. It was published on Friday, June 14. Without mentioning Calles personally or even alluding to his declarations but appealing generally to public opinion on his administration, Cárdenas said in substance that he considered it essential to continue his pro-labor policy, since, even though industrial conflict was temporarily damaging to the national economy, in the long run it would provide a better equilibrium between capital and labor. At the same time he warned both capital and labor that while they would continue to enjoy the rights and guaranties provided by the law, the government would tolerate no "inconvenient agitations," a broad hint of what was to come later. This statement was taken as the definitive break between the two men and signified in effect that Cárdenas proposed to assume the full responsibility of his office and to eliminate Calles from all voice in the government. The following day he convoked a special meeting of his Cabinet at which he demanded the resignation of all his ministers and heads of departments so as to leave him a free hand to reorganize his government on a more homogeneous base, both personally and politically. On the same day the Cabinet members presented their resignations, and the President of the PNR, who in Mexico is a sort of Minister of Policy without Portfolio, also resigned.

Calles had lost. His ultimate hope might have been the army, but Cárdenas had done his work well. With the adherence to the President of General Saturnino Cedillo, the most powerful of the military commanders, Calles realized that he was through. On Monday he issued a brief statement announcing his complete retirement from politics. It was his abdication. On Tuesday he left the capital to return to El Tambor, Sinaloa. In place of the huge crowds which ordinarily gathered to see him off on his journeys, there were relatively few people.

President Cárdenas then proceeded to reorganize his government, eliminating all the Calles elements and replacing them with men personally loyal to himself. There is in Mexico no Prime Minister who takes the responsibility of forming a new Cabinet, but in practice the president of the PNR has acquired this function. Emilio Portes Gil, ex-President of the republic, Attorney General under Rodríguez, and until recently Minister of Foreign Affairs in the first Cárdenas Cabinet, became the new president of the PNR and is considered Cárdenas's most dependable aide.

Not until the announcement of the new Cabinet late on Monday, June 17, was it known just how astute was the political game which Cárdenas and Portes Gil had played. They had forced Calles into a position where he could be branded a reactionary and so eliminated from political life. In so doing they had gained the redoubled confidence of the workers' and peasants' organizations. It now remained to draw in the other sectors—business, the conservative-religious elements, and Washington. From Fernando Gonzáles Roa, ex-Ambassador to the United States, who now becomes Minister of Foreign Affairs, to General Saturnino Cedillo, protector of the Catholics in the state of San Luis Potosí of which he was governor, now Minister of Agriculture, the Cabinet is either avowedly conservative or else composed of elements over which Cárdenas has complete control. Gone are the firebrands, Garrido Canábal and García Tellez, former Minister of Education. The case of the latter is particularly revealing of the new tendency. Although a close personal friend of Cárdenas, he was let out because the new government must divest itself as quickly as possible of its "radical" taint, and García Tellez was held largely responsible by the conservative public for the anti-clerical campaign and the implantation of socialist education in the schools. Religious persecution will now die down and socialist education will languish. The demagogy of the Six-Year Plan has served Cárdenas well, but now it must be toned down, for with Calles gone he will begin to play Calles's role.

His task will not be easy. The united front of labor is an accomplished fact. The workers are in a militant mood, and while they are solidly behind Cárdenas now, he will begin to lose their support as he turns more openly to the right. The strike movement is increasing, as the working class becomes more determined to raise its standards of living and to obtain some share of the current spotty prosperity. What will Cárdenas do? As the strike movement grows, he will be forced to take action, and the united front, which helped him to defeat Calles, will become a problem. The danger of fascism in Mexico is for that reason greater now than with Calles in the saddle. If he is pushed to it, Cárdenas may himself attempt a fascist coup. On the other hand, if he should fail to control the whirlwind he has helped to raise, the way would be open for the return to power of Calles or some other spokesman of big capital in a fascist dictatorship which would be accepted as the only alternative to a possible uprising of the united workers and peasants. But whatever happens, one thing is certain: the Mexican Revolution is dead.

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The New British Cabinet

By HAROLD J. LASKI

London, June 16

ON June 7 Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's political career effectively came to a close. Mr. Baldwin was sworn in as Prime Minister and Mr. MacDonald became Lord President of the Council—a titular office to which no functions attach. As a general election cannot now be long postponed, and as Mr. MacDonald is pretty certain to be beaten if he fights Seaham again, it is a reasonable political speculation that he will no longer play any important part in the nation's affairs.

The new Cabinet is not very different from the old. Amid universal relief Sir John Simon ceases to be Foreign Secretary, but a price has had to be paid for his retirement. He has taken over the Home Office, and is to be deputy leader of the House of Commons. Everyone hoped that Mr. Eden would have succeeded him at the Foreign Office. But that would have been too explicit a criticism of Sir John. Sir Samuel Hoare, who conducted the India bill through the House with great energy, therefore gets his place, and Mr. Eden becomes a Cabinet Minister especially concerned with League of Nations business. Whether the experiment of having, practically, two Foreign Secretaries will work well remains to be seen. Sir Samuel is said to have very much the pre-war mind in international relations; and Mr. Eden is certainly of a very different temper. It is, I think, a good guess that harmony will be made by Mr. Baldwin himself, who is likely to be fairly active in this realm.

Lord Londonderry ceases to be Air Minister—a post in which his failure was complete—and is succeeded by Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, who leaves the Colonial Office to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the ex-Premier's son. The latter, who is thirty-three, is a pleasant young man, of no particular ability, whose sudden elevation may be taken as a kindly way—typical of Mr. Baldwin—of easing the ex-Premier's retirement by soothing his paternal feelings. To preserve the balance of parties this has involved the retirement of Lord Sankey from the Woolsack. It is a fairly open secret that Mr. Baldwin was loath to let him go, and that Lord Hailsham, the new Chancellor, was also eager for Lord Sankey's retention. But Mr. Ramsay MacDonald made no effort to keep him, and with his retirement the best reforming Chancellor of modern times probably disappears from public life. His retirement is another instance of Mr. MacDonald's curious inability to be loyal to those who have rendered him devoted service.

Mr. Thomas, of course, remains, though everyone feels that he is completely unequal to the delicate post he holds. He has badly muddled Ireland, and he is now engaged in badly muddling the affairs of the African protectorates. Mr. Oliver Stanley gives up the Nessus shirt of the Ministry of Labor for that of Education; and the latter office is surrendered by the profound Christian mystic Lord Halifax, who becomes Minister for War. Lord Zetland, who has been Governor of Bombay, becomes Secretary for India—a good appointment, as he has both energy and imagination. Lord Eustace Percy becomes Minister without Portfolio, and it is said that he is to concern himself with economic matters. Mr. Ernest Brown is the new Minister of Labor—a surprise appointment. It was expected that this would go to Mr. Hore-Belisha; but the latter is that pushing, publicity-seeking type in whom a good deal of ability does not compensate for the pretty obvious outlook of the careerist. Sir Hilton Young is pushed from the Ministry of Health into the Lords; and Sir Kingsley Wood, who has been a great success at the Post Office, takes his place.

In a sense, this may fairly be described as a stopgap Cabinet. There is nothing for Mr. Amery, nothing for Mr. Churchill, nothing for the able younger group of the Tories. Mr. Baldwin wants to fight the general election on the "National" ticket; and the changes he has made are minimal to that end. His party can assume that, afterwards, there will be another ministerial reconstruction. For Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will disappear and, probably, his son also; and since nearly all the "National" Labor members will lose their seats, including, I think, Mr. Thomas, there will be a decisive case against the present distribution of offices. If "National" Labor members go, the pressure for ending the whole experiment of coalition government will be strong. It is therefore, I think, a pretty good prophecy that after the general election we shall be back again to a straight Conservative government. If the Simonite Liberals remain, they are likely, like the Liberal Unionists after the Home Rule split, to be absorbed into the Tory party.

The first big act of the new government is, clearly enough, likely to be the rejection of the Lloyd George policy. There have been long discussions, but the distance between him and the Cabinet has been too wide to bridge. That means that whatever influence Mr. Lloyd George possesses will be thrown against the government at the general election. Already, with the assistance of men like Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, he has launched a manifesto which seeks to draw away that part of the Nonconformist vote which is still pacifist and progressive from the government. He will do some damage to its influence. But it does not look as though he will be the important factor he seemed likely to be six months ago. He shot his bolt too early, and the long-drawn-out negotiations with the Cabinet have deflected interest away from his plans.

All in all, the experiment that has now closed bears out the general historic lesson that, in the long run, coalition government always redounds to the interest of the Tory party. Mr. MacDonald is one of the unburied dead; his supporters make no impact whatever on affairs. They are merely a façade of temporary confusion behind which Mr. Baldwin may do just as he pleases. In the four years of his coalition Premiership Mr. MacDonald has simply managed to betray that Labor Party which made his whole career possible without even earning the respect of his new allies. Under his rule the interests of property have been able to consolidate themselves as at no time since the war. Blow after blow has been struck at the strength and prestige of the League. The Disarmament Conference has been re-

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duced to a pathetic nullity. Economic nationalism has been gravely intensified by Ottawa and the new protective system. Education and the social services have suffered seriously. India has been given a constitution which no political Indian of prominence even pretends to defend. Anglo-Irish relations are worse than at any time since the treaty. A tacit encouragement has been offered to Hitlerite Germany of which its masters have taken full advantage, to the detriment of any possible hope of security—and therefore recovery—in the next few years. This is the price we have had to pay for Mr. MacDonald's decision of 1931. He protests whenever he speaks that he is still a Socialist. His former associates may be pardoned for their conviction that they are now entitled to doubt whether there was ever a sense in which he was a Socialist at all.

The new Cabinet, one may suspect, will make no serious innovations between now and the general election. It will fight that on two issues. It will say that under its auspices Great Britain has weathered the storm better than any other great power, and it will argue that a Labor victory would mean confusion and possible crisis. It will fight with the additional advantage on its side that the international situation will make a large number of electors timid about the prospects of change. If it is victorious, and if there is no war, it will repeat the habits of the Baldwin government of 1925-29. At all costs the government will play the business man's game. The distressed areas will remain distressed; the League will remain a polite fiction to which adequate lip-service is most scrupulously paid; doles and subsidies will be handed out to industries where support can be counted on; and diehard Tory opinion will be placated by heavy increases in armaments and the "reform" of the House of Lords. Of these two last we shall hear nothing until after the general election. They will then be introduced on the pleas, respectively, that they make for international security and for domestic stability.

The tragedy of it all is that British public opinion is ready for a great move forward both abroad and at home. It can get neither under the present institutional set-up of affairs. The men of property are prepared for none of the risks of great adventure. Their standards of good are set by those grim considerations which in the past have made them yield out of abundance to pressure what they would never yield to justice. Now, in their view, the abundance is gone, and they are not, accordingly, prepared to yield at all. Even the attitude of Mr. Roosevelt is unthinkable to them; and few things have been more interesting than their obvious *Schadenfreude* at the Supreme Court's decision in the Schechter case. A few years from now I think it certain—war apart—that the Labor Party will come into its own. But in those years the gap between the ideology of parties is certain to widen, and the consequences of that disparity will be momentous when the Labor Party gets its majority.

More and more the events of the past few years have convinced me that parliamentary government in a capitalist democracy is unlikely to transcend the limitations of its capitalist base. It might have done so if the Labor government of 1929 had shown itself bold in the face of its problems. Its failure put the initiative in the hands of its opponents. Property, as I read history, has rarely failed to grasp its opportunities when these have been presented to it. It is grasping them now; and the habits it displays are causally linked to the events abroad of which Hitlerism is only the logical term.

Hull House on Pennsylvania Avenue

By PAUL W. WARD

ALTHOUGH under the Roosevelt Administration virtually nothing has been done to ease international tensions and much has been done to increase them, no rational man can assert with accuracy that the New Deal has been disappointing in its foreign relations. Hope must precede disappointment, and the rise of Roosevelt to power offered no grounds for hope of a change for the better in the foreign policy of the United States.

There were, to be sure, some encouraging utterances from Mr. Roosevelt—his "good neighbor" iterations, for example—but then he himself warned all and sundry not to attach much importance to that or any other section of the New Deal libretto. "Remember well," he said at Butte on September 19, 1932, "that attitude and method, the way we do things, not just the way we say things, is nearly always the measure of our sincerity." And six months later he signalized his true attitude toward foreign relations by naming Cordell Hull, a shy and gentle vote-getter from Tennessee, as his Secretary of State. Roosevelt might just as well have hung from the White House portico a banner saying, "No foreign relations wanted."

The only qualifications Hull had for the ranking post in the Roosevelt Cabinet were his low-tariff fanaticism and the backing of Louis McHenry Howe, who, in addition to being Roosevelt's secretary, was the fire in Roosevelt's flint until ill health laid him low. Howe, Hull, and Wilson's alter ego, Colonel House, formed a triumvirate of elder statesmen to whom Roosevelt looked for guidance in his preconvention campaign, and in that period Howe—ever jealous of his powers as a king-maker—acquired a vast liking and admiration for the self-effacing Hull. House shared the liking but not the admiration; his candidate for the State Department portfolio was his old friend, the once militant pro-League partisan Robert Worth Bingham, the Louisville lawyer and publisher who became, instead, our Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. Roosevelt's own candidate was Owen D. Young, but he soon was persuaded that Young smelled too much of Wall Street. So the office went by default to Hull.

What Roosevelt needed, if there was to be a New Deal in our Foreign Office, was, in the first place, a Secretary of State to whose opinions he granted at least as much authority as he does not only to his own but also to those of such luminaries as Professors Warren and Rogers, Raymond Moley, General Johnson, and Joe Kennedy, the former steel manufacturer and Wall Street speculator whom he made

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chairman of the SEC. In the second place, he needed a Secretary of State who would keep dinning into his forgetful ears the necessity either for whole-hearted acceptance by this nation of the internationalist responsibilities attendant upon its creditor position or for, at least, resolute avoidance of such steps as were likely to aggravate the distress and insecurity of other nations and so bring war nearer. Had he had such a Secretary of State, it is unlikely that we should be draining the veins of China with our indefensible silver-purchase program; or that with our dollar-devaluation program we should be increasing instead of decreasing our "favorable" balance of trade; or—most important of all—that we should be launched upon the greatest peace-time program of military and naval building in our history, thereby giving aid and comfort to those war-makers, the international munitions racketeers, who are fattening upon the anxiety of Japan and other nations to keep step with our war preparations.

Roosevelt, flitting fretfully from policy to policy under the harassment of multifarious and conflicting counsel on domestic problems, is incapable of constantly envisioning the external effects of his internal maneuverings. Hull is not, for what he lacked in knowledge of foreign affairs when he took over the State Department helm he is rapidly making up by intensive study. But determined and tenacious as Hull is—and no man in Washington matches him in tenacity of purpose—he is incapable of keeping Roosevelt in leash. He is too waterlogged with long years of discipline in party politics to place imposing obstacles in the path of his dashing Chief Executive. Furthermore, he is preoccupied with his studies and with his efforts to chip away mountainous tariff walls with the penknife of reciprocal trade agreements. And even if he were inclined to scream warnings and protests into the President's ears, nothing would come of it, for those ears are reserved for others—for men of "authoritative" opinions, dazzling personalities, and the gift of tongues.

Hull is inept at phrase-making and so devoid of literary sense that the men who compose his speeches sometimes nearly weep over the interpolations he chooses to make in them. He also lacks a striking personality. He is quiet and slightly rustic in his manner. During the Montevideo conference Hull explained a disappearance of several hours by saying he had gone calling on "this yeah local president." He had been visiting the President of Uruguay. He made similarly impromptu and sack-coated calls on all the other dignitaries. Incidentally, it was the modest informality of his manner—in contrast to the "come, make obeisance" bearing of his predecessors, such as Hughes and Root—that more than his official utterances made that Seventh International Conference of American nations into something like a love feast instead of the traditional chorus of hate for the Colossus of the North.

Hull has a deep dislike for pomp and circumstance, a fact that does not endear him to the careerist clique in the State Department. At Montevideo he would countenance no effort by the American delegation to match the lavishness of entertainment offered by other delegations. In Washington he and Mrs. Hull make it a rule to eschew all social affairs other than those which his official position requires him to attend. Handsomely gaunt and finely bred, he cuts a distinguished figure and is not ill at ease at such affairs, though his customarily downcast gaze sometimes gives him that appearance. He bears a fancied resemblance to Lincoln, and it is rumored that there is in his wardrobe —put there by Mrs. Hull—a complete outfit of clothes such as Lincoln wore but that Hull has never had the courage to wear them in public.

It would be too much to expect that Roosevelt, a product of Groton, Harvard, and the yachting world, though no snob, should accredit to such a man more authoritative opinions than his own on world affairs, especially since Hull was chosen not for his opinions but for his politics, and for most of his life had viewed the world from a seat in the House of Representatives or from the even more dubious vantage-point of a rural county in Tennessee. Hull, who is ten years older than Roosevelt, was born in what is now Overton County, Tennessee. His family was comfortably established there in farming and lumbering, and as a boy he rafted logs down river. When he grew up he went to an obscure little college—Cumberland University at Lebanon, Tennessee—and was graduated as a lawyer. Politics was his immediate resort, and he served two terms in the lower house of the state legislature. After the Spanish-American War, in which he served as a captain in the Fourth Regiment, Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, he was appointed —and later elected—a Tennessee circuit-court judge. He left the bench to run successfully for Congress in 1906 and continued to sit in the House of Representatives from then until the Harding landslide of 1920 dumped him out. He returned two years later to serve in the House until 1930, when he sought and won election to the Senate and thereby made himself available for the Cabinet appointment that came in 1933. From 1921 to 1924 he held the then thankless job of chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Hull has had the best press of all the Roosevelt Cabinet members. Save in the Catholic journals, which lambaste him for turning a deaf ear to the church demands for Mexican intercession, scarcely a word of criticism of him has been printed. That, perhaps, was to be expected since he, a conservative, is not and makes no pretense of being a New Dealer. But whether or not it was to be expected, his consistency, in contrast to the waverings of his Cabinet confreres, has made praise for him certain. Similarly, he was bound to be consistent. He has an abiding faith in low tariffs as a cure-all for the ills of the world. It is a religion with him, and one he practices with moral rather than economic fervor. Adam Smith, not Karl Marx, is his crucifer. He asks no monument in life except a deep nick in a tariff wall. His credo is, "International laissez faire capitalism can and must be revived." With more than slight verity it has been said of him that he would not recognize a surplus unless there were a boundary at hand across which to push it.

His interest in tariff reciprocity, so consuming that he is quite willing for the time being at any rate to let Roosevelt personally handle all other phases of our foreign relations, was born in those long years he spent in the House. He specialized on taxation, and though he was the only member able to write a tax bill—he wrote the income-tax bill of 1913, the revised act of 1916, and the first federal estate-tax law, which was passed in that same year—he remained an obscure figure. His high, rasping voice seldom was raised on any other than the tax theme and then only to read long dry-as-dust manuscripts painstakingly prepared

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but not painstakingly enough to keep the galleries from emptying and the members from snoozing while he read. He was content to have his remarks go into the record, if not into the ears of those around him, and when he had finished one of those readings he would go into seclusion again and begin the long and tedious process of preparing another.

He has gone about his State Department duties in the same scholastic fashion. If he has an appointment with a foreign diplomat at nine in the morning, he not only spends most of the preceding evening in reading all available data pertinent to the appointment but gets down to his office half an hour early the next morning for a last-minute brush-up. He is setting a hard pace for the career diplomats in his retinue, and one which merely increases their dislike of him. If he were less a scholar and more a fighter, he would have found ways by this time to clear a large part of the careerist clique from the public payroll—another prerequisite to a New Deal in our Foreign Office. To most of these gentlemen the diplomatic service is merely a gentleman's way of seeing the world at the public expense and in nice company. They are products, for the most part, of the tonier schools and families and have a fine assortment of class prejudices which, combined with a certain languor toward all but the more fashionable sorts of work and learning, color their reports from foreign stations with a haute-bourgeoisie pallor.

Their influence permeates and deadens the whole State Department. They maintain, in addition to a rigid caste system, an invincible espionage machine, which they use not only to advance the interests of career men but to subjugate non-career men, many of whom live in terror of the career clique. Although most of the members of this group are pseudo-aristocrats with a sniffish contempt for the New Deal's avowed social objectives, the clique has increased its strength under Roosevelt. Its present chieftain is the Under Secretary of State, William Phillips, a New England blueblood who was at Harvard with Roosevelt and has had thirty years in the diplomatic service.

Another typical careerist holding high station in the department is the wealthy Sumner Welles, who has had fifteen years in the foreign service and, like Roosevelt, is a product of Groton and Harvard. Welles, an Assistant Secretary of State, was called home from Cuba because, responding to the call of the clan—the ABC, which is made up in large part of the Cuban equivalent of Groton and Harvard clubmen—he could not resist meddling in Cuban affairs. Having assisted in bouncing Machado, he went on to assist in maintaining the Machado system, a tradition carried on by his successor, Jefferson Caffery, to the accompaniment of increasing frowns from Hull. The other assistant secretaries, in addition to Welles, are Wilbur J. Carr, a nonentity who handles the mechanical details of the department; Francis B. Sayre, Wilson's son-in-law, a criminal-law professor of none too marked astuteness who is understudying Hull in his reciprocal-agreements work; and R. Walton Moore, an aging Virginia gentleman who finds a State Department berth congenial,

The New Deal has been only slightly more successful in filling its foreign posts with men of caliber than was the Old Deal, and what credit is due belongs largely to the depression, which has erased from the lists of campaign contributors Rotarians and stove magnates seeking a few years of honorable dalliance abroad. Roosevelt has kept Mr. Hoover's Norman Davis running about the world as his ambassador at large for no perceptible reason other than that Davis seems to know his way around the world rather well and likes to travel. Roosevelt also has kept the pretentious careerist, Hugh Gibson, but shuffled him off to our embassy at Rio de Janeiro. To Rome he sent Breckinridge Long, a wealthy Missouri lawyer who waited patiently and covetously for some such fruit of Democratic success at the polls, and who is said to be paying for the award with some lively as well as illuminating dispatches on Il Duce's doings. In Mexico we have Josephus Daniels, who, though no Dwight Morrow, is minding his own business with great determination and appears to have incurred the good-will of most Mexicans in consequence. Claude G. Bowers, the historian-journalist, is reported to be putting on a similar performance at Madrid, and at Paris Jesse I. Straus, the New York department-store magnate, is performing as an expert observer of the Bank of France's operations. Our ambassadors to China and Japan—Nelson T. Johnson and Joseph C. Grew, respectively—are both career men of long service. To most of our other foreign stations the New Deal has dispatched ministers or ambassadors of the usual political or hack strain.

Only two appointments struck a veritable New Deal note—those of William C. Bullitt and Dr. William E. Dodd. The appointment of Dodd as Ambassador to Germany created almost as much excitement as did the appointment of Bullitt as Ambassador to the U. S. S. R. James M. Cox, who was Roosevelt's running mate in the 1920 Presidential election, declined the Berlin assignment before it was offered to Dodd, a Chicago University professor of history who was familiar with Germany through years of study there. Save for a brief splash when he criticized dictatorships in a public address right under Hitler's nose, nothing has been heard from Dodd except in the secret precincts of Hull House on Pennsylvania Avenue. Little more than that has been heard from Bullitt, who did the groundwork for Russian recognition and was rewarded with the ambassadorship to the chagrin of the career clique, who feared his somewhat unconventional manners and broad social point of view.

Similarly, Roosevelt had groomed Bernard M. Baruch for the chairmanship of the American delegation to the Monetary and Economic Conference at London in May, 1933, only to have to ask him to step aside and make way for Hull, who had his heart set on that job. There are only a few things on which Hull has his heart set, and it is better to grant him his desire than to resist, for there is a relentless strain in the man that gives him at times the aspect of a Southern feudist. He let his passions rise twice in the New Deal's first two years, and on each occasion he returned to the State Department with a scalp dangling from his belt. The first to dangle there was that of the ambivalent Moley, whom Roosevelt made an Assistant Secretary of State merely because he wanted to have him handy; since the jealous Howe would not permit Moley to have an office in the White House, Roosevelt sent him to the State Department just across the street. The second scalp to dangle from the Hull galluses was that of George N. Peek, and it took a Supreme Court decision to help Hull accomplish the slaughter. Peek, too, was tossed athwart Hull's path merely because Roosevelt could think of nothing else to do

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with him and could not bear to be without his services.

Peek's offense was that of thumbing his nose constantly at Hull's reciprocal-trade-agreements machinery for reviving foreign trade. Like the scalping of Moley the scalping of Peek was not fatal, for Peek remains in the government as head of the export-import banks. Moley was forced out of the Administration, but he retired to an editor's chair within easy commuting distance of the White House, where he continues to be a frequent visitor. Hull doesn't mind that Moley continues more closely in the confidence of the President than does his ranking Cabinet member, so long as Assistant Secretary of State is not the badge by which Moley attains to glory.

[The ninth article in Mr. Ward's series on "F. D. R.—the Boss in the Back Room," will describe the role of Messrs. Morgenthau and Eccles in the story of banking and taxation under the New Deal. It will appear in the issue of July 31.]

Correspondence

Mr. Stolberg and the Socialist Party

To the Editors of The Nation:

This is in reference to the article on the Socialist Party by Benjamin Stolberg in *The Nation* of June 5.

The statement that the League for Industrial Democracy is subsidizing Norman Thomas is typical of the lack of factual basis for this article. Norman Thomas has not received a salary as an official of the L. I. D. for approximately three years.

The statement that the present Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party was "fashioned as a compromise by Mr. Thomas" is not true. Neither Norman Thomas nor anyone except the members of the Resolutions Committee saw the document before it was brought to the floor of the Detroit convention. I should also like to see Mr. Stolberg's authority for the statement that "workers' democracy" is Thomas's paraphrase for "dictatorship of the proletariat."

I am authorized by Mr. Thomas to deny that he said at any time that he did not know what the Declaration of the Principles really meant. Possibly this is Mr. Stolberg's method of reporting that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party referred this document to a committee of lawyers to determine "whether or not the Declaration of Principles made any change in the status of the Socialist Party under the criminal-syndicalism statutes of the various states."

The statement that the New Deal is doing pretty much what the Socialist Party would have done indicates a profound ignorance of basic socialism and of the expressed plans of the party. Morris Hillquit and Norman Thomas publicly called upon Franklin Roosevelt within two weeks of his inauguration to demand public ownership of banks instead of alleged banking reform. The National Executive Committee stated on July 3, 1933 (the NIRA was adopted June 16, 1933) that "the NIRA is an effort to stabilize *capitalism*" and "will operate to preserve for the owners the privilege of wringing profits from workers through low wages and high prices."

The statement that the New York State organization refuses to abide by the referendum on the Declaration of Principles is untrue. The New York State Committee has acknowledged that this document is binding on all party members but reserves its unquestioned right to advocate its amendment or repeal.

I do not challenge Mr. Stolberg's right to appoint himself the Walter Winchell of the radical movement and I do not attempt to contradict his scurrilous characterizations of various party members. This is a matter of free opinion and still permitted in this country. It is, however, a matter of considerable surprise that *The Nation* should have published Mr. Stolberg's article without attempting to determine the accuracy of his statements.

New York, June 20 John F. Sullivan,
Secretary, Public Affairs Committee,
Socialist Party of America

To the Editors of The Nation:

During the recent Weyerhaeuser kidnapping case the Chicago *Tribune* published a front-page story purporting to be an interview with an important head of the Washington state police, in which he declared that vengeful radicals connected with the lumber strike were being investigated and were probably connected in some way with the kidnapping. The editors of *The Nation* would, I am sure, join in deploring and protesting such vicious journalism, but you have apparently no qualms about publishing an article on the Socialist Party by Benjamin Stolberg which is no more responsible or objective than the *Tribune's* story of the kidnapping.

Stolberg reveals a highly developed ability to wisecrack at no point matched by his ability to assemble facts. A critic has only to point out the contradiction between the fact of the increase in membership of the Socialist Party and the statement that the Socialist Party is losing ground. Most laughable of all is Mr. Stolberg's assertion that the Socialist Party as a force in the trade-union movement completely disintegrated with the coming of the New Deal and the NRA. Before 1932 and particularly before the NRA the Socialist Party was an insignificant and dwindling factor in the trade-union movement, and every mite of increase has occurred in the last few years; in fact, while political successes have not been noticeable, the most encouraging thing for those who know what is going on in the Socialist Party is its growing orientation toward and influence in the trade-union movement.

As for the statement that the Declaration of Principles was referred to a lawyers' committee to see if it was legal, that is a distortion which reveals the complete lack of accurate information characteristic of the article throughout.

I will not try to take up the long series of unsupported and uncheckable assertions, such as that the Socialist Party program and psychology are adequately delineated in the New Deal, but I should like to mention two things which Mr. Stolberg ignores. The first is the steady and healthy growth of the Wisconsin movement as distinguished from the strictly Milwaukee Socialist organization. In the recent judicial election, when the reactionary Republican incumbent, with the indorsement of the Progressive Party of the La Follettes, was elected with 385,000 votes, the Socialist candidate in a judicial election ran up a total of 218,000 votes, twice the total cast for a Socialist candidate in the state before.

The other matter is the undisputed fact of Socialist leadership in the newly formed Workers' Alliance of America, the only significant national organization of the unemployed, and in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, springing directly from Socialist inspiration and declared by the students of Southern farmer and labor movements to be one of the most successful unions of white and Negro working farmers yet achieved in America.

Chicago, June 22 Arthur G. McDowell,
Executive Secretary,
Local Cook County Socialist Party

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The Rights of *Man*

To the Editors of The Nation:

For over a year federal officials have made a determined effort to suppress the anarchist journal *Man,* and to punish anyone connected remotely with its publication. Subscribers have failed to receive copies of various issues; foreign-born readers have been intimidated by personal visits from government operatives. Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto, Italian restaurant keepers who rented editorial space to the publishers, have been ordered deported to Italy where certain execution or long imprisonment awaits them. The hounding of this particular radical publication, not by state but by federal officials, is a grim foreboding of what may happen to the entire nonconformist press if determined resistance is not aroused. My sympathies with the Communist Party are a matter of record. I disagree with the policy of *Man* concerning the Soviet Union, and I do not think that the anarchist millennium can materialize overnight. But the obligation of every radical group to defend the democratic privileges of another group is as elementary as was the obligation to defend Sacco and Vanzetti. Our internecine differences may be settled after the establishment of the new social order. For the present, it is the duty of all liberal and radical individuals and groups to protest to Postmaster General Farley against the treatment accorded *Man.* Equally important is the obligation to protest to Secretary of Labor Perkins against the proposed deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto. We cannot afford to split hairs in a storm!

Austin, Texas, June 10 Harold Preece

Auction Block

To the Editors of The Nation:

Perhaps you do not know about the revival of slavery that is going on in the Bronx. The people who suffer from it are domestic workers, and I am one myself. We go out to the street corners on Walton Avenue between 160th and 170th streets and wait for white women to come along and buy our labor. Sometimes it is only for two or three hours, but the white women haggle till they get the price down to ten cents an hour. Sometimes they put their clocks back to cheat us.

The Negro *Liberator* has reported these conditions but they ought to be reported in all the papers or they will never be stopped. Please print this letter. I ask all your women readers please not to go to the auction block for their domestic help, but get in touch with the Domestic Unit of the Building Service Workers Employees, at 236 West Fifty-fifth Street. Pay union wages—give us houseworkers a chance!

New York, June 25 A. Vera Jones

An Appeal for Milk

To the Editors of The Nation:

May we have a few inches of your space for the urgent appeal of 250 children who will go without one of the most vital essentials of healthy childhood—milk—unless we succeed in enlisting widespread support in their behalf?

These children are the wards of the Prisoners' Relief Department of the International Labor Defense. Their fathers, political prisoners, are serving from one year to life in the jails and penitentiaries of the United States as a result of their activity in the labor movement. Their mothers are discriminated against by local relief authorities; they cannot find work.

Their sole support is a regular monthly relief check sent them through our organization. We feel sure that every justice-loving person who learns of their plight will be glad to support the drive for our Summer Milk Fund. These children live in small mining towns, farm areas, and cotton plantations, which have not the free-milk facilities sometimes found in larger centers. They depend entirely upon the generous support of the world outside. All contributions no matter how small will be welcomed by the Prisoners' Relief Department of the International Labor Defense, 80 East Eleventh Street.

New York, July 1 Anna Damon,
Acting National Secretary

The Mother Lode Strike

To the Editors of The Nation:

Your issue of June 5 carried a very worthy article by Milla Zenovich entitled The Mother Lode Mines Strike. In the last paragraph, however, the following error appears:

> At the beginning of the strike, government intervention was sought, and a conciliator was sent to Jackson. At the end of one day's investigation—he is not known to have gone into the mine—he advised the men to return to work and to negotiate with the company without the protection of their union standing.

It was Mr. Timothy A. Reardon, chairman of the California State Industrial Acceptance Commission, who took the position that the strikers should return to work without the protection of their union standing. Two government conciliators entered the field, but neither of them assumed to make any such statement and one of them announced publicly that he had stated to the mine workers that should any violence occur in the Jackson area, the owners would be responsible.

Sacramento, June 19 J. L. R. Marsh,
Secretary, Sacramento Federated Trades Council

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A COMING NEW BOOK

For and against modern active dated money (Non-STAMP) by Editors, Economists, etc., of world-wide reputation and up and coming young Lippmanns, Mark Sullivans, Brisbanes, etc. Editorial Board of well-known men to select articles. Variable time limits and amount of exchange fees provide regulation and control on a scientific basis. Read "Debt and Production" by Bassett Jones. Part of proceeds from book sales to be offered Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, at tenth annual session in 1936, as an endowment fund for research in special subjects along Brookings Institution lines. **"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man"** Thomas Jefferson, Founder University of Virginia. Recent high spot bibliography "Money in Motion," John Chamberlain, **New Republic,** June, 1933. "Mayor Unterguggenberger's Plan," Hans Cohrssen, **New Outlook,** March, 1933, "Booms and Depressions" and "Stamp Scrip" by Irving Fisher, Yale, **Esquire,** May, 1935. "A Matter of Modesty" by Ezra Pound, about Silvio Gesell.
THIS WEEK'S SESSION UNUSUAL! Why not attend? Address me University of Virginia until July 15th. Yours for streamlined private capitalism, sound money, taxes from increased business volume and Money in Motion and the desire to uncover new hard-hitting ward Engineers able to take either side. P.S. Should banks be allowed exchange fees as a profit! **J. B. N. CARDOZA.**

Psychic Impotence

Is the title of the feature article in the July issue of The Modern Psychologist. Causes, treatment and cure of the various phases of impotence are being discussed in a frank, though scientific, manner.

This article is an important contribution and should not only clarify prevailing common mistakes, but also help to destroy false ideas of virility.

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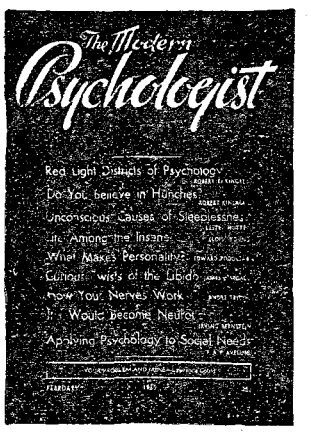

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Labor and Industry

Tacoma: Timber and Tear Gas

By SELDEN C. MENEFEE

Seattle, July 3

BAYONETS and tear gas have been brought to Tacoma, the greatest lumber center in the Pacific Northwest, by the lumber operators in their attempt to break the strike of 40,000 sawmill and timber workers for a living wage. On Sunday, June 23, Washington's Governor, Clarence D. Martin, stood at attention at Fort Lewis, near Tacoma, while 7,600 national guardsmen from their summer encampment passed in review. The next morning 300 troops were ordered into Tacoma; on Tuesday the number was doubled. The strikers call the boys "Governor Martin's tin soldiers." The guardsmen are mainly youngsters, many of them only seventeen years old. The story is told in Tacoma that one of them, unused to handling a bayonet, swung sharply and cut the cheek of the youngster next to him, who thereupon burst into tears. All these troops are recruits from the agricultural region east of the Cascade Mountains. The boys who hail from the Puget Sound Region have many friends on strike, and some have union cards themselves.

The effect of this military strategy has been to make the strikers more radical than they were before. They blame the Governor, not the guardsmen. Many have lost what confidence they had in the impartiality of an arbitration board appointed by a government that allows troops to be used against them. Public sympathy has also been turned toward the strikers. Five thousand citizens of Tacoma got tear gas in their eyes in Monday morning's Battle of the Eleventh Street Bridge. At that time several hundred pickets and sympathizers were driven by the National Guard across the bridge between the industrial and business sections to clear the way to the mills for strike-breakers.

Technically, Tacoma is not under martial law, the Governor never having bothered to declare it to be so. The troops are "assisting the state police in preserving law and order." The state police had previously been used to protect the loading and shipping of "unfair" lumber on trucks without visible license plates at Lowell and other points. They have used tear gas freely in Tacoma. According to Hubert K. Spahr, president of the Tacoma Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union, state troopers arrested two pickets at a logging camp at Vale, near Tacoma, where they were picketing peacefully. These men were forced to run ahead of the patrol car for nearly two miles and when they fell down were beaten until they stumbled to their feet again. A Tacoma labor attorney is filing suit for these workers against the state government. As a result of these and other incidents the state police are cordially hated by the strikers, who merely express contempt for the National Guard.

The power of the mill-owners to control governmental policies, as well as the avenues of publicity, is becoming clear to the strikers. The daily press actually stated that the troops were called out at the request of the lumber operators, against the wishes of the mayor of Tacoma. Governor Martin, in a radio address to the people of the state on June 26, spoke of the "right to work," and the need for protecting the "workers" who wished to return to the mills. All the daily papers have adopted the policy of referring to the strike-breakers as "workers," as opposed to the "agitators," strikers, and pickets. Newspapers told of 1,300 "workers" functioning in fourteen mills on July 2; but the official union count of men entering the mills that same day was 566, or about one-sixth of the normal crew. A headline reads, "Mill Operators Watching Tacoma," and Governor Martin is quoted as saying that mill operators in other sections of the state are cheered by the events in Tacoma and are contemplating reopening their plants. He said that he stood ready to consider the applications for troops "if the operators and local authorities feel unable to control the situation."

If this military drive to break the strike succeeds, a new series of red raids is to be expected. Already signs of fascism are apparent. All picketing is prohibited by military order. The city council on June 26 voted to allow the strikers to stage a tag sale to support the strike, but Brigadier General Carlos Pennington of the National Guard refused to allow the tags to be sold on the streets. Pedestrians are not allowed to stop in certain areas of town. Tacoma and Seattle police were said by the papers to be cooperating in getting the names of any "radicals" coming in from other towns to "agitate." A meeting of 500 persons called in Firemen's Park by several left-wing groups on Wednesday was dispersed by National Guard troops generously supplied with tear gas. Homes of strike-breakers are protected at night by guardsmen. President Spahr of the Tacoma union and several other strikers were arrested on June 27 and held in the armory for several hours without charges. The Seattle branch of the American Civil Liberties Union investigated, but could find no record of the arrests. Spahr is suing the National Guard commander for false imprisonment.

The mediation board appointed by Secretary Perkins on June 26 consists of Judge Roscoe R. Smith of Seattle, Judson W. Shorett, a Seattle attorney, and Father George E. Thompson, a Portland priest. But Governor Martin, who was elected as a liberal Democrat, expresses opposition to arbitration, except "in certain cases." The mill operators, with their eyes still on Tacoma, oppose any arbitration. And the strikers in most places have adopted a policy of refusing to arbitrate, since such a step would mean that their demands for union recognition, a thirty-hour week, and seventy-five cents an hour would be lost or hopelessly compromised. So the battle will probably continue until the strike is broken or won.

The morale of the strikers is holding up well. Since the loggers are also out, the mills can operate only as long as the logs on hand last, if they succeed in getting the wheels turning. Longshoremen in all ports are refusing to handle lumber which is picketed by the mill workers. Protests by the thousand have been sent to Governor Martin and to President Roosevelt by trade unions and other organizations.

One striker said to me, "What have I got to look

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forward to if we go back to work now? I was making an average of $13 a week, working three or four days a week, last winter. Even if we get our demands, we'll have a hard road trying to support the kids on $22.50 a week, some weeks. Look at Weyerhaeuser and the rest of the timber barons! And yet they say they can't afford to pay us a living wage. I'd rather stay on relief for a year than see this strike lost. We're staying out."

A visit to the Tacoma strike headquarters on Wednesday provided further proof of the strikers' solidarity. They had not attempted to picket that morning; but at 8:30 a.m., when the guards were loaded on their trucks and retired temporarily for the first time in two days, the strikers were greatly cheered. They immediately organized picket lines, three men for each gate of every mill, and the pickets functioned like clockwork until the return of the troops that evening. At strike headquarters a soup kitchen serves coffee for the strikers at all hours and dinners at noon. In the rear is a large hall with neat benches made by the strikers themselves.

Tacoma's local of the Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union is controlled by the rank and file. It is integrated with the other strike centers chiefly through the Northwest Joint Strike Committee, a left-wing body with offices in Everett. The locals of nearly every important lumber center in the Northwest, with the exception of Bellingham and Seattle, are also affiliated with this committee. Seattle is expected to affiliate by next week. This rank-and-file movement for control was a revolt against the activities of the old-line union heads, especially Abe Muir, district representative of the Carpenters' and Joiners' International, of which the Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union is an offshoot. Muir attempted to get the men to go back to work in Longview, Portland, and other places under secret agreements which he worked out with their employers. In Longview, when the men found that the agreement did not include union recognition, and that it involved an increase of only five cents an hour over their former wage of forty-five cents, with no decrease in hours, they went back on strike the following day. Muir then took away the charter of the Longview local. In Aberdeen he has split the union by organizing the loggers and the mill workers into separate locals. In other places a red-baiting campaign has been used by the old-time "labor leaders" to prevent the locals from affiliating with the rank-and-file Joint Strike Committee. In Seattle more effort has been devoted to fighting the "reds" than to winning the strike, but in spite of the conflict within the union the strike continues to be solid in nearly every locality.

The policy of the Northwest Joint Strike Committee is that of mass action. It advocates strong picket lines, and has flying squadrons from Everett and other centers of militancy traveling constantly to bolster up weak points. It also raises funds for the neediest locals. At Wednesday's strike meeting in Tacoma it was announced that $220 had been received from the locals in Aberdeen, Olympia, and Everett alone. In view of the increasing strength of this committee, it is probable that any negotiations by the employers will have to be carried on through it. Recognition of the union is the first thing demanded; if that is granted, negotiations for wage increases and shorter hours will be referred for decision to the locals directly concerned.

The lumber strike expresses the growing militancy of the labor movement in the Pacific Northwest. On July 6 the strike enters its third month. Latest reports indicate that the lumber barons are staking everything on an attempt to force open the mills. On July 1 state police were on hand at Longview and Aberdeen to "protect the rights of the workers." Tear gas was again used to disperse mass picket lines. Those going back to work also have the sanction of the Carpenters' and Joiners' International, which has finally disowned the rank-and-file locals which insisted on voting on the terms of the settlement before they returned to work. But in spite of the combined attack of the operators and the labor "leaders," less than 200 men out of 3,500 returned to work in Longview, and a like proportion at Aberdeen. The outcome depends on whether the rank and file of the unions can continue to hold their strike lines solid in the face of this offensive.

Redder than the Roosevelts

By HEYWOOD BROUN

A KIND client has sent to me my dossier from Mrs. Albert Dilling's "The Red Network," which unfortunately I had not read at all. This single all-too-slender biography has sold the book to still another customer. I am fascinated not only by the subject matter but caught up with the manner of the telling. The style is terse and also free. Mrs. Dilling is, I suspect, own cousin to the Garble sisters whose dialogues are featured by Hi Phillips in his Sun Dial column.

But let me quote and try to show how completely an endearing revolutionary can be limned within the span of a couple of sticks. Had they been chafed together, think of the fire which might have been engendered. That is not the Dilling method. Dispassionately the author states her case and lets the reader soak it in. Here goes:

> Broun, Heywood: New York *World-Telegram* newspaperman; resigned from Socialist Party recently, saying, it was reported, that it was not radical enough for him; Rand School; wife, Ruth Hale of Lucy Stone Lg., went to Boston to help stage last-minute Sacco-V. protest meeting (N. Y. *Post,* Aug. 10, 1927); ousted as columnist for N. Y. *World* because of friction over his abuse of the authorities in the Sacco-V. matter; at once engaged by radical *Nation;* principal speaker at Level Club, N. Y. C., blacklist party of speakers barred by D. A. R. as subversives, May 9, 1928. James Weldon Johnson, colored radical, was master of ceremonies and mock trial for revocation of D. A. R. charter was held, Norman Thomas being the judge and Arthur Garfield Hays one of the attorneys; nat. com. W. I. R., 1929; nat. com. W. R. Lg., 1930-31; L. I. D. (bd. dir., April, 1931); Recep. Com. Soviet Fliers; Fed. Unemp. Wkrs. Lgs. N. Y., 1933; contrib. *New Masses,* 1933; Nat. Scottsboro Com. of Action, 1933; Emer. Com. Strike Rel., 1933; Il Nuovo Mondo Nat. Com.; supporter Rand Sch., 1933; nat. coun. Berger Nat. Found.; Nat. Com. to Aid Vic. G. Fascism; pres. and org. Am. Newspaper Guild, 1933; Conf. Prog. Pol. Act., 1933-4; Roosevelt appointee, Theatrical Code Authority, 1933.

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It is true that I am the pres. but I am not the org. of the Am. Newspaper Guild and most bitterly do I wish to enter a denial of the last accusation hurled by Mrs. Dilling. President Roosevelt did not appoint me to the Theatrical Code Authority. In all fairness to Mrs. Dilling it must be admitted that she did not weave this serious charge out of whole cloth. I must admit that I sat at one hearing before the theatrical code administrator and that Mrs. Rumsey had informed me that I was there to represent the consuming public. But I was not alone in this reckless deed. Side by side with me sat Joseph Wood Krutch, who, as I later learned, is bd. of eds. and drm. ctc., and lit. ctc. of the *Nat.* At the end of the session, in which William A. Brady, thr. pd., made a long and eloquent speech, a Mr. Rosenblatt asked me if I wanted to say anything. I told him no. He then asked Joseph Wood Krutch, ed. radical *Nat.*, who was almost as eloquent. I was informed that I could get my expenses by turning in an account at the proper office but it happened to be at the far end of the Commerce Building on one of the uncharted corridors and so I said, "Oh, what the hl. I'll stake my country to the $6.15." And that, as Jvh. (Bibl. dty.) is my witness, is the only warrant for the charge that I was appointed to the Thl. Cd. Athy.

That was all the consuming or the theatrical public ever heard from me. And in justice to Mr. Rosenblatt it should be added that undoubtedly when he asked me if I had anything to say he was not cognizant of the fact that I was nat. com. W. I. R. In bringing this matter to light I'll freely confess that Mrs. Dilling has me worried. Indeed, this one revelation in "The Red Network" keeps me tossing and turning at night. Like the young lady in the song, I couldn't say yes and I couldn't say no. Nor is it sufficient to ask indulgence on account of the fact that this was way back in 1929 when I was a young man only nineteen years out of college. How on earth can I explain or justify my being nat. com. W. I. R. when I have not the slightest recollection of what the W. I. R. may be?

Of course, it could be World Institute Reds or Wabbling into Republicanism. Or for that matter the When in Rome Society. The best I can do is to say that, whether I was a W. I. R. or not in the past, its purposes and its practices elude me now. I can truthfully say that I haven't been to any W. I. R. dance, banquet, or business meeting in the last five years. It must be that I was trying to forget and in this I have succeeded admirably. But there is just one tragic possibility. Perhaps Mrs. Dilling has also forgotten. Come on, Mrs. D., be a good scout and tell me what the W. I. R. is or was so that I can make amends and once more sleep peacefully at night.

Mrs. Dilling has fallen into an inaccuracy in stating that Broun, Heywood (with a little better detective work she might have dug out the "Campbell" for the middle) was "ousted as columnist for N. Y. *World* because of friction over his abuse of authorities in the Sacco-V. matter." My abuse of the authorities did lead to a situation during which I absented myself from the columns of the *World* for several months. That was of my own volition. I got fired by Ralph Pulitzer, almost a year later, after I had returned to the job. The offense was an article in the "radical *Nation*" attacking the editorial policy of the N. Y. *World* as administered largely by Walter Lippmann, p.s.b. Lest there be confusion I may state that p.s.b. is in no sense a radical organization. Some of the most respectable people in the American community belong to it. I appointed them myself. Nicholas Murray Butler is a member and William Randolph Hearst might very appropriately be the org. of this large and inclusive fraternal organization. Madison Square Garden being solidly booked for the season, the members of the p. s. b. have no clubhouse at the moment, although I believe guest privileges have been offered them by the S. N. S. S.—Society of Native Stuffed Shirts.

But to get back to Mrs. Dilling and her all-too-brief biography of Broun, Heywood. Much as I regret to say it, I feel that we have both failed. She has not made out her case and I do not deserve the accolade she has offered. As I read the account of the activities of this *"World-Telegram* newspaperman" I find, not the solid outlines of a red, but merely the portrait of a joiner. Better luck next time Mrs. D.

Another Language

IN the annual report of the Department of Labor Miss Frances Perkins wrote as follows:

> Labor policy in a democracy is not a program conceived by a government. It is a program of action which the people who earn their living as wage-earners and those who employ them in a profit-making enterprise must work out together in a society which develops naturally out of the work that they do and the life that they lead.
>
> The function of the government is to serve as a stimulating agency to facilitate the formation of such a policy, which will be just and fair to all the people and in the line of human progress.

Here is an authorized translation by, say, a New England textile worker:

> I'm a weaver, a skilled weaver ("the people who earn their living as wage-earners"). During the war I used to get as high as forty and fifty dollars a week. Course that was a lot of money. Most of the time I've made a lot less, but I figure a weaver even in these times ought to get about twenty-five dollars a week. It's skilled work you know. But there's a lot of people out of work and the boss ("those who employ them in a profit-making enterprise") says he ain't making any profit; maybe he's not but he keeps the books. So he keeps cutting wages because he knows he can get away with it with all those people wanting a job. ("It is a program of action which [wage-earners and employers] work out together in a society which develops naturally out of the work that they do and the life that they lead.")
>
> Well, then the government comes along and sets up that minimum wage. Before that I was making twenty dollars a week some of the time. But now everybody except maybe the loom fixers and those others that have strong unions are getting the minimum whether they're skilled or not. And when the government let the mills shut down 25 per cent, people were getting about $9 a week. ("The function of the government is to serve as a stimulating agent to facilitate the formation of such a policy, which will be just and fair to all the people and in the line of human progress.") By the way [concluded the textile worker] there was a swell Fourth of July speech at the fairgrounds last week.

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Books

To the Tall Buildings New York

By ROSS EDWARDS PIERCE

"But who were the mighty men who put up these tremendous buildings,
These latter day Scyldings
Who with gigantic and sky-tapering finger were given
To challenge heaven—

"Who with granite and nail and cable
Put up such topless towers that only the Furies of Time and of Night might disable—

"Whose countless brown rows
Now
After a thousand years still look out sternly and unperturbed from under their shaggy and disheveled brows?"

"Some say they had compass and quadrant from a people were Seamen rare,
Voyagers of the air,
Who though less than a fly
Still had a magical method to manage the sky.

"Others that they had strange power in bottomless caverns of the heart
Dwelling apart,
And designed
Climbing the tall cliffs of infinity within the mind.

"At any rate we know
When winter glistens the tower-tops cataracting up row on row
That they understood the white sanctity of snow.

"And in the violet fields of the late West when God puts up the evening pasture bars
Where yonder turrets are
They held high converse with the coming stars."

"But where are the mighty men who put up these tremendous buildings,
For surely they were Scyldings—
Has Time then banished
These too with all the rest who now have vanished?"

"Nay, that is known.
Their bodies are one
With the strong serenity of stone.
But as for their souls—where are the waves o' the sea that each heaves upward and gleams—and then in a moment is gone.

"Only this, this
There were some—a steel cutter or a painter and sometimes the devil got jealous of their paints—
And they fell—they were the saints.

"But when the wind sweeps along
Over the topmost girders why you can hear them singing in its melodious song.

"And when the shadows of the evening fall
Massive and somber over their walls—
Dim emerald,
Then high up from a thousand watchman windows
Why you can hear them call . . ."

Radix Malorum

The Treasure of the Sierra Madre. By B. Traven. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

IT is not hard to understand why the two books of this author have enjoyed such an enormous vogue in the various European countries in which they appeared before being published in English. If "The Death Ship" has sold over a million and a half copies in Soviet Russia, and sold over 200,000 copies in Germany before it was banned by the Hitler government, the reason is to be found in the fact that it is based on a situation which, while realistically conceived and rendered, is actually a symbolical representation of much that is weighing upon the European mind at present. Unlike the Falladas, the Célines, and the majority of the Marxist writers, Mr. Traven is not so much concerned with expressing an abstract point of view toward the modern world as with offering an epitomized impression of that world so vivid and complete that the reader can arrive at a point of view of his own. He is almost entirely free from the greatest of all the vices of the contemporary fiction writer, which is to work from the idea to the experience. In both his books the experience constitutes the pattern, what T. S. Eliot once called the "objective correlative," for ideas and attitudes that are perhaps only incompletely formulated in the mind. The experience is the idea. And because of this building so solidly on the situation or experience or "story" Mr. Traven has to depend very little on style or the other idiosyncratic graces of the modern novelist. The virtues of his writing, construction and detail, suffer no loss in translation. The "objective correlative" that he supplies for the mood of self-inquiry that is passing over the Western world is comprehensible in every tongue.

The central situation in the present book is one of the oldest known to story-telling. It was old when Chaucer appropriated it for "The Pardoner's Tale," and with minor variations it has never ceased being used in narrative and drama. Yet Mr. Traven has filled it in with such an abundance of freshly imagined anecdote and detail that it produces the effect of a tale that is being told for the first time. Three derelict Americans in Mexico set out on an expedition in search of a fabulous gold mine abandoned centuries ago by the Spaniards when it was found to be under an Indian curse. After many hardships they discover the mine, work at it arduously for many months, and finally depart with their treasure. But on the journey home the oldest of the trio is forced to stay behind in an Indian village, trusting his share of the booty to his companions. One of these is gradually overtaken by the compulsion to kill his comrade and keep all the little bags of gold dust for himself. Forcing the other man into a forest clearing, he shoots him down in cold blood. A little farther on the road, however, he meets with a band of Mexican bandits who deal him out the same fate, severing his head from his body with a single stroke of a machete. The gold dust is scattered to the four

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winds. It should be added that the main story is supported by a kind of anecdotal history of all the stories of cruelty and bloodshed that have grown up around gold prospecting in Mexico from the time of the Spanish to the present. The book is itself a mine of melancholy information about the effects of gold on races and individual men. It includes also, without departing from the main subject, as profound an insight into the Mexican psychology as will be found in any recent work on the subject. But it is as a parable, in the broadest sense, of the impingement of greed on the whole of a man's character, as in the case of the rather ordinary young American in the story, that the book will appeal to a world that is becoming more and more aware of the importance of the theme. It is certain to meet with the same popularity in Russia and the same disapproval in Germany as the author's first book—and for precisely the same reasons. WILLIAM TROY

Whither America?

American Messiahs. By the Unofficial Observer. Simon and Schuster. $2.

Back to Work: The Story of the P. W. A. By Harold L. Ickes. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

The Citizen and His Government. By Alfred E. Smith. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

The New America and the New World. By H. G. Wells. The Macmillan Company. $1.

IN these four books we have timely and cogent comments on the current American political and economic impasse from various angles—the critics and left-wingers, a major spokesman for the New Deal, a leading and articulate member of the American Liberty League, and a talented foreign observer of progressive and collectivistic inclinations.

The breezy and intelligent appraisal of "American Messiahs"—Long, Coughlin, Townsend, Upton Sinclair, Norman Thomas, the La Follette brothers, Milo Reno, General Johnson, Mayor LaGuardia, and others—is written by the same man who gave us a comparable description and evaluation of "The New Dealers" some time back. It is the best volume we have on those who find the New Deal wanting and seek to improve matters—mainly by a leftward swing and the achievement of a real "new deal" of one sort or another. These men are studied without fear, hysteria, or favoritism. Throughout there is the sound implication between the lines that if Mr. Roosevelt and his followers do not like these critics they have nothing to blame except the lack of resoluteness, imagination, courage, and consistency in the New Deal itself. Had Mr. Roosevelt lived up to the promises made and implied in his inaugural address, few of the "messiahs" would today have more than a handful of followers except as occupants of the Roosevelt band-wagon.

Huey Long is shown to be at least consistent and his "Share the Wealth" program no bit of transitory boloney suddenly seized upon to discomfit the Roosevelt Administration. The author prints a letter written by Huey to the press back in 1918 containing the full germ of Long's present thought.

> He can fairly claim to have been consistent in advocating these fundamental issues, which did not become visible to others of our leading statesmen until the depression was biting deep into an unsound economic structure.

If the debatable taste in Huey's political methods is waved aside, the chief argument which can logically and fairly be used against him is skepticism as to whether he would "come through" if placed in a position of power and authority. And the hardest thing for Huey to laugh off here is his record in Louisiana, where he has had the power to instal a local "share the wealth" program. Not even his most fanatical disciples can fairly contend that his record in this regard even faintly approaches the La Follette achievements in Wisconsin. Those who are wise and wish to expose and silence the Kingfish will do well to remind him, in season and out, that social justice, like charity, may well begin at home, and that those who live in glass houses should be wary about throwing stones.

Father Coughlin, "the microphone Messiah," is given credit for having made the country alert to the depredations of Wall Street, and for having done more than anybody else in this country to popularize the social and economic liberalism of certain popes and Catholic leaders. The author predicts that Coughlin will have to choose between going on as a critic and entering active politics at the price of being unfrocked.

The La Follettes are presented as of prime importance for the New Deal. Without their support President Roosevelt is not likely to carry the Middle West in 1936. Hence, their chief utility at present is their power and influence in holding the President loyal to a considerable proportion of his progressive principles. Things have not yet shaped up so as to allow them to head a promising third-party movement.

Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party do not impress the author as having much prospect for growth and power along the line of direct Socialist expansion and triumph. But they may serve as a very important—indeed, indispensable—stimulus to Roosevelt through impelling him to take the lead in "gradualistic" social transition. The volume is almost uniformly good and intelligent, and constitutes a real contribution to what is, for a time at least, one of the most important phases of current American history.

There is one threadbare but persistent American tradition which needs to be corrected. The publishers tell us that the book deals with "the more important members of the 'lunatic fringe.'" It is high time that Americans came to understand who are the real lunatics. We should put aside the respectable illusion that soundness and sanity are represented by the methods and principles of predatory finance capitalism and that social insanity is to be identified with a passion for social justice. Judged even from sane capitalistic logic, "General" Coxey and "Sockless" Jerry Simpson were far more sane than Mark Hanna, President McKinley, Harriman, the elder Morgan, and the like. And today Milo Reno and "Doc" Townsend, to take the more extreme of the messianic group, are towers of social and economic stability compared to Coolidge, Mellon, the younger Morgan, Owen Young, and their kind. Reno and Townsend at least yearn for a fairer distribution of wealth and the assurance of mass purchasing power—the soundest planks in any capitalistic platform—while the Mellons and the Morgans are doing more to destroy capitalism than all the agitators in America since the first labor troubles in the Virginia of John Smith. A hundred years from now historians will indeed write of a "lunatic fringe" in the America of 1935, but they will not be dealing with the principals in the volume by the "Unofficial Observer."

Secretary Ickes gives us the authoritative apologia for the Public Works Administration of the Roosevelt era. He has wisely decided that the best defense is to tell the story of what has been accomplished and how, rather than to quarrel and cavil with critics over minor issues. The value of the book is greater as a factual summary of the Roosevelt public-works policies and achievements than as a controversial tract, though the Secretary does occasionally sail into his opponents. He makes no effort to conceal the difficulties in restraining the vultures of political patronage and economic greed. Few informed persons doubt that Mr. Ickes is a conscientious, honest, and efficient administrator. His book confirms that impression. However, it is one thing to get public works executed honestly and efficiently, even if a little slowly. It is quite another to

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spend rapidly and widely enough to boom prosperity effectively. For the first purpose the Roosevelt program is moderately well adapted and the Ickes administration superbly suited. But it is fair to raise the question whether enough is being spent and with sufficient expedition to boost capitalism back on its feet. As W. E. Woodward pointed out in his "Money for Tomorrow," restoring prosperity through public spending is like pushing a man out of the ditch. Nothing except a big enough push to get him out will do any good at all.

Now that Alfred E. Smith has aligned himself with property interests and economic reaction, many have hoped that his new book would be a forthright and slashing defense of the principles of the American Liberty League. But they are doomed to disappointment. His book is an excellent statement of political liberalism and a defense of at least moderate state action for social reform. There is little direct criticism of the New Deal and much implied criticism of the principles of the men associated with Mr. Smith in the Liberty League. The philosophy is, for the most part, that of the Al Smith of pre-1932 days. The volume is chiefly based on the former governor's political experience in New York. It would make admirable assigned reading for a course in state government, and the last chapter is a stinging criticism of the antiquated system of government in New York, which would go for most other states. There is an excellent chapter, built around the prohibition controversy, on law enforcement and the futility of trying to make people good by law, some of which could be quoted with deadly irony relative to Mr. Smith's recent scampering to Albany at the behest of his church to bulldoze the legislature into passing anti-nudist legislation. By and large, if the book is neither novel nor exciting, it is for the most part sound and substantial and reflects far more credit on Mr. Smith than his wisecracks and growls at the New Deal.

The pleasant and incisive little volume by H. G. Wells is the product of a somewhat chastened Wells. When he came to the United States to study the New Deal in 1934, Mr. Wells was inclined to put much store by Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal—even to find that both Stalin and Roosevelt were working toward much the same end without clearly realizing this to be the case. Now, even a rather hasty and "personally conducted" second visit finds him less sure of his ground. Roosevelt is, perhaps, less resolute. Criticism of the New Deal has become more vehement and voluminous. Americans as a whole have made no progress in realistic apprehension of the state of economic life or of world politics and are even less inclined to resolute experiment than a year or so ago. Valuable time is being lost in the moment of crisis.

Mr. Wells is especially interested in Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and other lambasters of the New Deal. While he is not carried off his feet by any of them, he gives a most sane appraisal of the significance of the whole movement of "messianic" protest. It is the natural and logical response to Mr. Roosevelt's failure to live up fully either to his own words or to popular expectations. If we do not get a New Deal, it may not be so long before there will be a demand for "a new sort of game." Especially cogent is Wells's statement of the bankruptcy of the reputable opponents of Long *et al.*:

> The really ominous thing in the contemporary American situation is not what these raucous voices say, but much more what is said against them and still more what is *not* said by way of a reply. I am not so much impressed by what Senator Long or Father Coughlin asserts and suggests as by the unsubstantial weakness of those who would oppose and discredit them. If the inferior voices, so to speak, are raucous and vague, the superior voices seem to me thin and even less explicit than the crowd shouters, and moreover contradictory to an extreme degree.

If things continue as they are today, Mr. Wells sees revolution ahead for America. Yet we are not likely to copy slavishly European precedents:

> It is not communism that threatens America, or any fascism of a European type. These things came in because of the moral and intellectual bankruptcy of the classes and types in charge of affairs in Russia, Germany, and Italy, and their characters were determined by local conditions. It seems to me more probable that an intellectually cruder and more instinctive sort of revolutionism is likely to appear in America, if this confused inexplicitness, this failure to state and direct in a way understandable by the popular mind, on the part of those who should lead in reconstruction, continues.

It would be a rash dogmatist who would predict more specifically the next step in the United States. That predatory capitalism and nose-counting democracy have broken down beyond any effective repair must be conceded. Beyond that it is hard to go just now. If Roosevelt is able to hold his party together through 1936, he is likely to be elected easily and he may then make the long-expected leftward swing. But there is no certainty of this. Even if he does, he will find the going hard through opposition from both right and left. More and more it is becoming apparent that Mr. Roosevelt sowed for the whirlwind by declining to take over the pirate ship of predatory plutocracy in 1933 when its crew was demoralized and its guns in part spiked. Should the Republicans slip back in through a split in the Roosevelt vote of 1932 and 1934, we may expect a rapid suicidal movement within capitalism, for the plutocrats have shown a sheer stupidity and an incapacity for enlightened self-interest which must tax the credulity of even the most dogmatic Marxian.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

General William Booth

God's Soldier: General William Booth. By St. John Ervine. The Macmillan Company. Two Volumes. $7.50.

AS a boy St. John Ervine went with his grandmother to Salvation Army meetings, saw the soldiers march to battle, flags flying, drums sounding; saw them return wounded, ragged, and filthy, but always radiant. They had a source of joy that never failed. Twice he heard General William Booth preach in the Ulster Hall, and the memory of "that fiery man whose faith filled the world" remained with him always. Later he wanted to write Booth's life, seeing him as a genius and hero of religion, one of those "who, having no social influence, rebel against authority, defeat authority, and create authority." Such men command his admiration. But when he began to write the task seemed endless. It became not only a life of Booth and of his wife, Catherine, but a saga of the Booth family, a history of the Salvation Army; and this necessitated an "Interlude on the History of Methodism" and an elaborate epilogue on the various schisms that developed after Booth's death, most spectacularly represented by the deposition of Bramwell Booth. "The life is the length it wished to be," says the author, ". . . it took possession." The strong organic relation of the book with its author is obvious. In its amplitude and leisurely pace, its solidity and detail, its wide scope and brilliant portraiture, the complex aspects of the subject are fused with ease and richness; so that we have by a natural progression the life of a man, the chronicle of a family, the growth of a schism, the dynamic story of a religious movement.

William Booth rose out of abject poverty and ignorance to be the leader of millions. His adolescence was spent in a

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pawnshop which he hated. He knew from personal experience the miseries of industrial England in the desperate forties. He began to preach while still in his teens, at first under the aegis of Methodism. He lost his job in the pawnshop because he would not work on the Sabbath, and came to London, where Catherine Mumford heard him preach and fell in love with him. She was as complete a religious as he, an intense, sickly girl who by the time she was twelve had read her Bible many times and revolted against the harsh determinism of Calvin. The marriage of these two was a great romance. In his old age William Booth still wrote her the letters of a lover. They lived the hard life of itinerant evangelists. Catherine bore eight children in thirteen years, each in a different lodging house. The frail girl performed miracles of endurance. She was second only to him in their own kind of greatness. Only on one point did they ever disagree, and Catherine won. It was on the right of women to preach, and the fact that women were always the equals of men in the army is her work. This was contrary to Methodist doctrine, and the ensuing controversy gave her her first prominence.

Booth could not stay within the Methodist fold. He was too authoritarian to be able to bear authority, too eager, too original in his methods, too much imbued with the conviction of rightness, too justified by his success. Men as ardent as he brought him the offering of their fanaticism and became his trusted lieutenants. Some of his best ideas came from these aides. A saint, a showman, a genius of organization, a despot, he dominated the huge machine completely while he lived, and even left a testament which virtually established a dynasty.

Booth cared only for saving souls and tried to avoid the entanglements which were inevitable if he recognized any connection between poverty and vice. But soup kitchens and rescue homes were inevitable. Little by little the Army acquired property and complications. Its relation to church and state, from outcast, became comparatively respectable. It is strange that its usefulness in scotching discontent was so slowly recognized. The snobbishness of the Established Church hindered this recognition. It was shocked to see the lower orders thoroughly enjoying religion, with noise and vulgar vitality. The Army did what the church couldn't do, as Booth often pointed out in reply to criticism. In the early years policemen looked the other way when the soldiers and lassies were stoned and rolled in the mud. But by dint of jumping up with bleeding foreheads, shouting "Bless you, Brother!" and praying loudly for their assailants, these soon made a profound impression on their audiences. The terrible conditions and the callousness of the well-to-do explain the success of the Army among the "despised and rejected." By the 70's and 80's its value was recognized at least tacitly by the upper classes. Mrs. Booth corresponded with Queen Victoria on the subject of the age of consent; later Booth had an audience with King Edward. Peers and peeresses began to make substantial donations. The Army meanwhile had spread into other countries. The campaigns in France, Switzerland, and America are told in some detail and make excellent reading.

Even before Booth's death there had been murmurs against his arbitrary sway but they were little more than murmurs. With the accession of Bramwell, a man of integrity and administrative genius but without his father's demonic magnetism, clashes within the family and against the family burst into the open. The last three hundred pages are taken up with the story of Bramwell's deposition and various appendices. However valuable for the record these additions are, most readers will feel that the unity of a really magnificent biography is somewhat marred by them. One does not have to share Mr. Ervine's emotional involvement with his subject—or accept his suggestion that once we have discovered all that communism and fascism have to offer us there will be nothing left but religion to turn to—to find this an absorbing book, to admire the skill and humanity with which the author has handled his complex material.

CLARA GRUENING STILLMAN

An Old Battle

Fortune and Men's Eyes. By George Cronyn. Covici-Friede. $2.50.

THOUGH the setting of George Cronyn's latest novel is contemporary America, the book is, in its own way, as clearly a "period" novel as was its predecessor, the medieval "Fool of Venus." In "Fortune and Men's Eyes" we find Mr. Cronyn restaging the old battle of man versus society. Ten years ago this might have been a whacking good fight. Today it seems a ludicrous-sad bout between two one-time ring favorites, now aging and punch-drunk. Once this conflict was a popular peg on which any writer might hang his plots. Samuel Butler did it, and Shaw, and Sinclair Lewis, and their works were, in varying degrees, good, because they dramatized a war which was really being waged in the daily life of the time. However, such a conflict can only be symbolized in satisfactory artistic terms if, at the historical moment in question, it truly exists, if, in other words, numbers of individual men actually find themselves pitted against an established, inflexible social code. Now, in 1935, lacking a rigid society, we accordingly lack one of the two protagonists of the drama. Society, being in flux, is as puzzled, as uncertain, as insecure as man himself. There is very little fight left in it. No longer is it possible to imagine the figure of man grappling with the giant of society; we must think of man in society, or of man as society itself.

Therefore, when we discover that the hero of Mr. Cronyn's well-made contemporary novel is compelled, in his race toward his destiny, to run the gauntlet of the whole series of organized, antiquated social and moral taboos, we must believe either that the author has deliberately falsified facts for the sake of a good story or that his novelist's eye is singularly myopic. This hero of Mr. Cronyn's is Byron Peirce, one of three sons of a fleshly but idealistic Presbyterian minister, and, for the son as well as for the harassed father, the sin of sexual indulgence represents man's rebellion against the artificial code that has been pressed down on him, man's assertion of his manliness, of his humanity. Now, Mr. Cronyn to the contrary, I do not believe that it is any longer necessary for a man to assert his manhood by a grim, conscience-stricken fornication; man's sexual independence has by this time been pretty well established. Again in defiance of Mr. Cronyn, I think that the food, the opinions, and the wearing apparel of the Byron Peirces are matters of general indifference to the world in which they live. In consequence, Byron's exposition of his sex-society problem, his struggles with it, and his solution of it seem to me, at best, picayune affairs, and Mr. Cronyn's novel seems anachronistic for its preoccupation with them.

In only one respect does the novel impinge with any pointedness on contemporary reality. Only when Mr. Cronyn touches on the economic aspects of the brothers' lives does his mechanical story spring to life, since on this front alone can it conceivably be said that man still does battle with organized society. It is a pity that Mr. Cronyn should have regarded the economic implications of his family history as of secondary importance, for in his sections on Canadian lumber camps and Minnesota Farmer-Labor campaign battles there are moments when his writing suggests the proletarian saga that must soon be written, and the younger brother, Clyde, has about him slim, fiery touches of the proletarian hero who is even now being imagined.

MARY MCCARTHY

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Marlborough as Soldier

Marlborough, His Life and Times. By the Right Honorable Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P. Volume III, 1702-1704. Volume IV, 1704-1705. Charles Scribner's Sons. $6.

THE four years covered by these volumes mark the height of Marlborough's glory as a soldier. He was to win other great battles after Blenheim, but it is with Blenheim that his name is inseparably linked. Including the evolution of the "Grand Design" against Louis XIV, the relations between Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy, the storming of the Schellenberg, and the devastation of Bavaria, nearly half of the two volumes is devoted to the Blenheim campaign. For all the wealth of manuscript material which Mr. Churchill has had at his disposal, his account does not make any large addition to what was already known about the episode, but his narrative gains in clearness and vividness from his own practical acquaintance with warfare and the technical aid given by Colonel R. P. Pakenham-Walsh, a professional student of the campaign with whom he "visited the battlefields and traversed the marches." The devastation of Bavaria which followed the Schellenberg battle, he declares, "was not senseless spite or brutality, but a war measure deemed vital to success and even safety," although "to the wretched sufferers it made no difference what the motive was"; but he also notes, as if by way of apology, that while "perhaps four hundred villages were burned" the devastation was "neither so sure nor so widespread as that which France had inflicted upon the Palatinate a quarter of a century before," and "of course" was "incomparably less efficient than the destruction wrought by the Germans in their withdrawals from France and Belgium in our own times."

Marlborough at this time, however, was much more than a great commander; indeed, the "easiest part" of his task, Mr. Churchill thinks, was "to beat the French in the field." He was the "mainspring" of the Grand Alliance and, with the aid of his staunch friend Godolphin, virtually Prime Minister of England. He was the personal representative of England's foreign policy on the Continent, but he had also to make sure of political support in England for his military program while struggling to obtain "effective military action from the crowd of discordant, jealous, and often incompetent or lukewarm allies." It is the high distinction of Mr. Churchill's biography that it does not allow any one part of Marlborough's career to overshadow others. The irritating obstructiveness of the Dutch, the unique cooperation of Prince Eugene, the difficulties of Queen Anne's first government, and the dreary but inevitable controversy over the Occasional Conformity bill—all find their proportioned place. William III was strong in diplomacy and politics, but dominant military genius was lacking; Frederick the Great had military genius, but the "width and complexity" of the affairs over which he presided were not comparable to those in which Marlborough was absorbed. Only with Napoleon does Mr. Churchill find Marlborough's combination of military, political, and diplomatic functions "applied again upon a Continental scale."

In view of Marlborough's well-known hunger for money and honors, Mr. Churchill's remark that "he liked at odd moments to reflect upon his growing fortune and the princely setting in which his heirs and successors would dwell" seems studiously apologetic. It would, however, have been better for Marlborough, he thinks, if "something like" Godolphin's economical suggestion of a national thanksgiving for Blenheim had been adopted instead of the gift of the royal manor of Woodstock, on which the Queen proposed to build Blenheim Castle, and a permanent grant of £5,000 a year, for the rewards were later to disturb both his happiness and his dignity. Fortunately,

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there is little else in Marlborough's character or bearing to apologize for in these four years. If ever a biography deserved to be called definitive, this one does, for if what is still to come equals what we already have, there will be one period of English history which will not need to be reworked on either its political or its diplomatic side. WILLIAM MACDONALD

Law as Sociology

Law and the Social Sciences. By Huntington Cairns. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

FOR a long time now jurists with flushed faces and rapid pulses have been talking about the need for a sociological jurisprudence. The need for a stock-taking has occurred to Mr. Cairns, a young Baltimore lawyer, who has read widely in the social sciences. He has surveyed successively the contributions to legal science of anthropology, economics, sociology, psychology, and political theory. The results, as he has developed them in the course of his review, appear surprisingly meager despite the fact that he is highly sympathetic with the aspirations of sociological jurisprudence. Again and again Mr. Cairns's critical sense forces him to admit that this or that contribution of the social sciences is of no great value to the jurist. In view of this it becomes particularly depressing to consider that other contributions which he accepts will not stand a more searching analysis, or that they represent theories which are not indispensable to legal progress. It was certainly realized, for instance, long before the formulation of the theory of cultural lag that legal institutions were often anachronistic, and as Mr. Cairns takes pains to emphasize, the Roman jurists were, after all, the first sociologists.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Mr. Cairns's survey describes the contribution of anthropologists in clarifying the origins of primitive legal institutions. Only too frequently eminent legal historians have talked glibly of this or that characteristic of early law in blissful ignorance of anthropological investigations. But even here it is easy to make much of their failings. It should be remembered that they are dealing with the legal history of the cultured peoples, and that a generalization which will not hold good of the Trobriand Islanders may be valid with respect to the history of Greek or Roman or English law. In this connection it is unfortunate that Mr. Cairns has omitted altogether to survey the contributions of social and economic historians in illuminating various phases of legal history.

In view of the importance of "human nature" in legal problems, it might be supposed that psychology would have particularly great contributions to make. But Mr. Cairns only succeeds in demonstrating that it has surprisingly little to offer. A great deal of attention has been attracted in recent years by examination of legal rules of evidence in the light of psychological experiments. Many of the tested rules, however, have stood up surprisingly well. Moreover, the importance of this type of investigation is confined largely to Anglo-American law. Other systems do not have a law of evidence in the sense of a complex of exclusionary rules, but admit all logically probative facts.

Of more importance is the fact that psychological truth is not always legal truth, for there are political elements involved in legal administration which often make inadvisable the application of psychological knowledge. Thus Mr. Cairns ridicules the rule that damages will not be awarded for the effects of fright unaccompanied by physical injury, on the ground that psychologists have shown that fear may often produce palpable if not devastating effects on the human organism. This may readily be conceded, but the legal rule might still rest upon the risk of encouraging fraud in accident litigation.

The political dangers of an enthusiastic application of social science can be best illustrated by the history of penology. Mr. Cairns omits any consideration of penology on the ground that it has been written about too much, but an examination of penological theories would have been highly instructive in connection with the correlation of law and social sciences. It would have been interesting to demonstrate that penological theories are often utopian, not because of their inherent character, but because of the realities of judicial administration in the milieu in which we live.

Curiously, the longest but least interesting chapter of Mr. Cairns's book is devoted to law and economics. His review here breaks down because of the very richness of the material! His selection of such specific topics for discussion as taxation and small loans seems arbitrary. On the other hand, his elaborate examination of the nature and justification of property seems far removed from legal practicalities, and in at least one respect is highly scholastic. Mr. Cairns insists that property is purely "a legal relation," and hence that the physical nature of property is of no importance to the jurist. This, in view of the obvious importance of the traditional distinction between real and personal property, is rather startling. According to his theory, a mortgage on an automobile would be governed by precisely the same formalities as a mortgage on the Empire State Building.

The confusion in Mr. Cairns's book is due fundamentally to the present immaturity of the social sciences. He has wisely eschewed in his review any general disquisitions on method. But the confusion would have been lessened if he had kept in mind more constantly and consistently the internal problems and limitations inherent in legal method. The chief value of sociological jurisprudence has lain in its fundamental point of view. But its importance in this respect is too easily exaggerated, particularly in the field of the ordinary civil law, in which it is often important merely that a recognized and well-established rule be available. Much has been heard of the undesirability of attempting to deduce results from existing legal precepts by exercises in pure logic irrespective of social needs. But the mischief has only too often been due not to the fact that the logical method has been used but to the fact that the logic has been bad. Moreover, those who have campaigned for sociological jurisprudence have proceeded on the theory that judges have gone wrong largely because they have had inadequate knowledge of social processes. But the mischief, of course, has lain far more in their self-interest than in their ignorance of sociological method. WILLIAM SEAGLE

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